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A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOLUME I.

EDITOR:

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PRESIDENT SOCIETY FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES.

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CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

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PROSPECTUS.

The purpose of this periodical is to foster and stimulate the sentiment which is growing amongst Canadians of interest in the past, pride in the present, and confidence in the future of our Dominion.

It is intended to furnish historical students with a means of communicating the results of original research and preserving interesting discoveries.

Its success will depend to a great extent upon the numerous societies and students, whose assistance, by notes and contributions, is invited.

Although the papers will be chiefly historical, it is hoped that the magazine will not be uninteresting to the general reader, as matters of present public import will also be mentioned and discussed from time to time. Each monthly number will contain one principal article, followed by short notes. Next month it it proposed to inaugurate several departments which have not been attempted in this number, owing to lack of space.

The whole revenue will be devoted to making the magazine attractive, and its size will be increased if the subscriptions warrant the additional expenditure. To reduce

the cost as much as possible, arrangements have been made by which the GAZETTE PRINTING COMPANY undertakes the collection of subscriptions and the business management generally.

The subscription is $2.00 per annum, strictly in advance.

Subscribers will please address

MR. RICHARD WHITE,
Managing Director,
Gazette Printing Company, Montreal.

Communications intended for the Editor should be addressed to P. O. Box 1855, Montreal, P.Q.

CANADIAN HISTORIES.

Part I.

Students of Canadian history sometimes complain of the lack of trustworthy and satisfactory text-books on the subject. The basis of this complaint varies, of course, according to the student's point of view. The problem is complicated, not only by local and political leanings, but also by prejudices of race and creed. However fair a historian may determine to be, he can hardly divest himself of sympathies which, if not innate, have become a second nature to him—part of his individuality. A history in which no personal element could be recognized is almost inconceivable. A history made up barely of facts would be little better than a chronological table. At the same time chronology has its value, and chronicles are of corresponding worth, fulness and accuracy being always premised. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: that is what the chronicler is morally bound to discover and make known. To be sure, he is not responsible for the mistakes or wilful representations of contemporary witnesses, so long as he reproduces honestly and integrally their "ipsissima verba."[1]

The *Monumenta Historica Canadensia* have as yet been only partially brought to light. The beginning of systematic inquiry after them was not made until a few years ago, when the Archives Bureau was established,[2] and though

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[1] I am here using "Chronicle" in the sense of that which contains, conveys, or suggests history, and "Chronicler" to signify the person who collects, examines, and arranges such material.

[2] In the second portion of this study I will, in the proper place, give some account of Mr. Brymner's service to the cause of historical research. Meanwhile I may be permitted to quote the follow-

some good work has been done since then, there still remains a good deal to accomplish. Almost every day fresh evidence is revealed, in some shape or other, bearing on some feature, period, event or personage of our complex past. Every city, town, village or parish in the Dominion has on its records documents still virtually unknown that may prove of interest, or help to interpret some phase of our development as a people. As for documents of more or less importance, hidden away among the records of foreign state departments, and those which (unconsciously to the owner, perhaps,) are still in private keeping, at home or abroad, they must constitute a considerable aggregate of more or less useful material. Till, at least, the most precious portions of the manuscripts thus indicated have been placed at the disposal of the inquirer, our history cannot be completely written. We are not, however, in that respect, worse off than some other parts of the world. There is no

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ing testimony to his diligence, skill and judgment:—"During the year 1881 Mr. D. Brymner, Archivist of the Dominion of Canada, was in Great Britain, with instructions from the Canadian Government to ascertain the nature, number, and historical character of manuscripts and records in the Public Records Depositories of Great Britain, and the means taken to collect, arrange, preserve, and render them accessible to the public. Since Mr Brymner's return to Canada he has made a most interesting report on the subject of his inquiries in Great Britain, which has been printed, and a copy of which, with the permission of the Canadian Ministry, is annexed to this report. (App. 11, Note 31.) It has been annexed as printed in Canada; although there are many statements therein which are already mentioned in various reports of the Departmental Keeper of the Public Records, it contains much more useful and interesting information on the records of the United Kingdom, and merits a wider circulation in this country, as giving the opinion of an officer not connected with the English Records, and as affording a well-deserved testimony to the praiseworthy exertions of Mr. Brymner."—*Forty-Third Annual Report of the Public Record Office, London*, 1882. Such commendation from such a source reflects credit, not only on Mr. Brymner, but on the administration of which he is an officer.

country, indeed, in which there is not ample scope for the zeal and industry of the historical inquirer.

At the outset of these brief comments, it might be well to offer some definition of history. What is its largest scope? What are its limitations? On what principles ought it to be written? Sixty years ago Macaulay avowed his ignorance of any history that approached his notion of what a history ought to be. And the cause assigned for that universal inadequacy was that this province of literature was a debateable land, ill-defined, ill-cultivated, ill-regulated, falling alternately under the control of reason and of imagination. Further, in his prophetic essay, he described the perfect historian as one in whose work the character of an age is exhibited in miniature; whose narative, while truthful, is not unattractive; who, while showing the court, the camp and the senate, does not forget to show the nation also; who "considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of education, and to mark the progress of the human mind." During the two generations that have elapsed since the famous essay was written, several great historical works have been published—Lord Macaulay's own not being the least notable,—but the historian universally recognized as perfect has not yet appeared. To Macaulay, however, belongs the merit of having broken through the tyrannical conventions which have made history the monopoly of kings and courts, and of having brought within its ken the whole many-sided range of human thought and life and development. The recent scientific school of history would make the historian's survey still more comprehensive, while, at the same time, robbing it of the romantic coloring which is so attractive a feature in Macaulay's ideal. But, surely, history may be no less true because it is interesting. If it be, as some claim, a branch of science, it is also a department of literature. If it calls for research, for critical

insight, for sound judgment, it also demands imagination and sympathy and the "enthusiasm of humanity." Nor should its ethical significance be lost sight of; it is "philosophy teaching by examples." The experience of the past is the counsellor of the present: the present is the interpreter of the past. And of the truth of this view there is no fuller illustration than what is offered by the history of our own country.

In the hasty notices that follow, I have dealt, first, with works that cover the entire ground down to the date of publication; then with works treating of the French period only; then with works relating to special epochs; then with provincial and local histories; with biographies and memoirs, and, finally, with miscellaneous works of a special character.

I. FOR THE WHOLE PERIOD—SCHOOL HISTORIES.

As most of us obtained our earliest knowledge of our country's past at school, I may begin this brief survey by glancing at some of the school text-books. In this province, and, doubtless, in Ontario, to some extent, the little compendium of Mrs. Jennet Roy was long a standard authority. Its author deserves to be remembered with respect and gratitude for her pioneer endeavor to imbue the minds of Canadian youth with a knowledge and love of their own country. It reached its seventh edition in twice as many years, and after nearly forty years of service; for it was published in 1850 It still holds its place in some of our schools. For twenty years it had no rival in Quebec. In 1870 appeared the "School History" of Dr. Miles, which was prepared in view of the new conditions created by the British North America Act. It is much fuller than Mrs. Roy's book, and brings the record down to the year 1867. A sketch of the Constitution, a table of chronology and an index, with a number of instructive footnotes, add to its value. The "School History" was translated into French

(as Mrs. Roy's manual had already been), and was sanctioned by both sections of the Council of Public Instruction.[1] The history of Dr. J. G. Hodgins (one of Lovell's series of school books) differs in plan from that of Dr. Miles. It begins with a summary of European history down to the era of Canadian colonization, pays considerable attention to physical geography and to industrial and educational progress. It has also concise biographies of leading characters in the form of notes, constitutional sketches of the provinces, as well as of the Dominion, and a system of tabulation that serves as an excellent aid to the memory. It brings the history to the early years of Lord Dufferin's administration. The history of Mr. J. Frith Jeffers follows the plan of the well-known series of History Primers, and is a creditable compendium. Notwithstanding its name, however, it is better adapted to the capacity of the mature student than to that of beginners. Mr. Jeffers' hand-book, which leaves the reader at Confederation, is authorized by the Ontario Minister of Education. Another History of Canada which deserves mention among school manuals is that of Mr. Andrew Archer, published by J. Nelson & Sons, London and Edinburgh, in 1881, and adopted by the educational authorities of New Brunswick. It is a work of more than ordinary merit, and, for a school and college text-book, could not easily be surpassed. The questions for examination are carefully framed, and the points of salient interest being emphasized by darker type, the learner is thus aided in finding the answers. The history is brought down to the date of Confederation, but an appendix adds to the chief events that happened between 1867 and 1874. Other features are an abstract of the B. N. A.

[1] The earliest manual of Canadian History used in our French schools was, I believe, that of Mr. J. F. Perrault, a patriotic and public-spirited, as well as accomplished man, who did much to promote education. Mr. Perrault died in 1844 at the ripe age of ninety-one.

Act, a full chronology, a tabulated outline of Canadian progress from 1497 to the present generation, a pronouncing vocabulary, and an index. The "Public School History of England and Canada," by G. Mercer Adam and W. J. Robertson, is one of the latest additions to the series of school books authorized by the Education Department of Ontario. Only three-tenths of it are devoted to Canada, a mere synopsis of whose history is appended to the main subject of the book. Nevertheless, the plan is commendable, there being much help in the way of maps, questions, illustrations and lists of authorities; and in the hands of an accomplished and skilful teacher, the volume might be turned to good account. A still later publication is "An Abridged History of Canada," by the Rev. W. H. Withrow, with an "Outline of Canadian Literature," by G. Mercer Adam. Dr. Withrow has the advantage of an animated (if sometimes florid) style, and what he writes is always readable. The limits of space imposed on him compelled Mr. Adam to cut short his sketch of our literature. As the first attempt in such a manual, to make the literary movement a part of our general progress, it is deserving of mention.

LARGER WORKS FOR GENERAL READERS.

Of more ambitious works we have Dr. Withrow's largest history; Dr. Bryce's "Short History of the Canadian People"; the history of John McMullen; Garneau's history, the English translation of which, by Bell, is well known; Sulte's "Histoire des Canadiens Français"; the work of the elder Bibaud, with the supplementary volume of Bibaud the younger; Revaillaud's "Histoire du Canada," the only French history of the country written by a Protestant; the "Histoire du Canada, de son Eglise, et des Missions," by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg; the uncompleted work of Charles Roger, and the two volumes of William Smith, the earliest history of Canada written in English. Though, in

many ways, defective, according to modern ideas, Smith's History of Canada is not without a certain value. The author had access to some documents of importance which were not published till long afterwards, touching the French period, and his functions as clerk of Parliament and chairman of the Educational Committee gave him opportunities of informing himself as to the course of events in his own time. On some special points (the condition of Quebec during the siege of 1775, and the state of opinion as to higher education in 1787, for instance) his work may still be consulted with advantage. He brings the history down to 1791, where Christie (after a brief retrospect extending back to 1759) and Bedard, in his "Cinquante Ans," take it up. The work was printed for the author by John Neilson, of Quebec, in 1815. Charles Roger, in a single volume, which, though independent and spirited enough, hardly fulfils the high-flown promises of his title and introduction, prematurely concludes his history with the first quarter of the present century. The title is, "The Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilization." It was published in Quebec in 1856. An appointment to the Civil Service, which in so many cases proves a stimulant to literary creativeness, seems, in the case of Mr. Roger, who had previously shown abundant energy, to have had just the opposite effect. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has a reputation amoug the members of his own race in Canada, which is strangely in contrast with his fame in circles devoted to American Archælogy. To this last branch of science he was enthusiastically devoted, and though, in many respects, rash and erratic, he is affectionately remembered among the "noblissimi pochi," who gave to the study of pre-historic America that impulse which has been so fruitful in results. In the early years after the union of the Canadas, he paid a visit to Quebec, and was received with characteristic hospitality in the grand old fortress city. Charmed with his new friends, he was easily induced to

prolong his stay, and, in an evil hour, conceived the idea of writing a history of New France. Some time after his return to France there issued from the Paris press a work entitled "Histoire du Canada, de son Eglise et de ses Missions." Its evil report preceded it to Quebec, but the reality proved still worse. It not only elicited from Abbé Ferland prompt and vigorous rebuke, but led ultimately to the preparation by that conscientious writer of his "Cours d'Histoire de Canada," of the merits of which I shall presently have to speak. The nature of the offence given by the wandering archæologist may be gathered from the following passage, which occurs in Abbé Ferland's "Observations":— "The Protestant writer, Smith, bitter foe though he was of the French race and the Catholic religion, was less unjust towards the clergy and people of Lower Canada than M. Brasseur de Bourbourg in the second part of his work. For the friends of truth and justice it is a work that does credit neither to the heart nor to the judgment of the author." Mr. Lareau, criticizing from a different standpoint, charges the author with serious inaccuracies, with glaring omissions, with general unfairness, but allows him the merit of grace and vigor of style. In fine, l'Abbé de Bourbourg's work was never accepted as authoritative by the French Canadians, whom it most concerned. What influence it may have had in France, I cannot say. It is now one of the rarities of Canadian bibliography.

Garneau's History has had the widest popularity of all the works of its class, and is the only History of Canada which has been accepted by both sections of our population. The first edition was not, however, approved by the clergy, and was, consequently, withdrawn from circulation almost as soon as it was issued. It is now among our "livres rarissimes." Only business considerations, according to Mr. Lareau, made the historian, who was not a millionaire, submit to an intervention which he could hardly fail to resent. It is, nevertheless, the sympathetic pen of a mem-

ber of the clergy that has paid to F. X. Garneau one of the highest tributes that he has received as a writer and a patriot. "The future," writes Abbé Casgrain, in closing his enthusiastic eulogy, "will unite with the present in hailing him as Canada's national historian." In Bell's translation there is room for improvement; nor, however we may differ from the author, can we condone the stranger who, without permission received or even asked, presumes to alter his text. The fourth edition of the "Histoire du Canada," published in 1882 by Messrs. Beauchemin et Valois, is enriched by a biographical and critical study from the pen of M. Chaveau, and a carefully prepared index, the work of M. B. Sulte. The "Histoire des Canadiens Français," by M. Sulte, is marked by industry in research, vigor of style, and independence of thought. It brings the history down to 1880. John McMullen's book is honest and independent, and will always command respect. It was, however, written at a distance from original sources of information, and is, therefore, defective. It brings the record to the year 1855. The work of Eugene Revillaud is, on the whole, disappointing. It contains nothing new, and to preach annexation is a poor return for the kindness that the author received from the British Protestants of Montreal and other parts of the Dominion.

Dr. Withrow's style makes his larger history pleasant reading, and whoever masters its contents will have laid a fair foundation for more detailed studies. Dr. Bryce's book deserves the praise that is due to faithful work. Every chapter gives evidence that he spared himself no pains to secure fresh facts and accuracy. He has shed new and welcome light on several phases of our growth as a nation. His work is really a fulfilment of the promise in his title. It is a history, though a short one, of the Canadian people. Students who like to strike out into new paths for their

own satisfaction, will thank him for the bibliographies with which he has prefaced his chapters.[1]

THE FRENCH PERIOD.

Of works that embrace the French period of our history, the best known is Dr. Parkman's series. As yet there is a hiatus to be filled—the interval between the death of Frontenac and the beginning of the war that ended in the capitulation at Montreal. That gap will, I believe, be shortly closed. On the historical value of Parkman's works, the brilliancy of the style, the vivid pictures that they supply of the most romantic and stirring scenes in the story of the Old Régime, it is needless to dwell. A work of conscientious research for the same period is the "Cours d'Histoire du Canada" of the late Abbé Ferland. The writings of clergymen almost always show a bias for their own church. Ferland, though he writes as a Catholic and a Frenchman, and gives much attention to church affairs, is inspired throughout by an evident desire to be fair and honest. In his statement of facts he manifests an anxiety to set forth the truth, and the truth only. His two compact volumes are rich stores of manifold khowledge, which shed light on events and characters that previous authors had left obscure.

Dr. Miles compressed the most salient of the characteristics and events of the same period into one moderately sized volume, which may be read with pleasure and profit. Warburton's "Conquest of Canada" has not ceased to be consulted, though the title is somewhat misleading. It is a medley of multifarious lore on the physical geography,

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[1] The first French history of Canada, according to M. Lareau, was prepared by Dr. Jacques Labrie. He died, however, on the 26th of October, 1831, before he was able to publish it. M. Morin was entrusted with the manuscript, and the Legislatnre made a grant towards the printing of it The troubles that had their tragic termination in 1837–'38 intervened, however, between the design and its accomplishment, and the manuscript was destroyed by fire at the sack of St. Benoit.

early inhabitants, discovery and colonization of the American continent, rather than a simple account of the closing struggle. "Le Canada sous la domination Français," by L. Dussieux (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 3rd ed., 1883), is of value for the abundance of *pièces justificatives*, laboriously collected in the French Departments of War and Marine. It should be studied by all who would have an intimate knowledge of the policy and aims of that corrupt administration, which hastened the downfall of New France. An important work now in course of publication—the "History of Canada," by William Kingsford—deserves an honorable place in the list of authorities for the Old Régime. Mr. Kingsford's second volume, just issued, brings the record down to Gov. Vaudreuil's death in the year 1725. The task carried thus far towards completion is the most comprehensive treatise on the French period that any English writer, dealing with it consecutively as a single subject, has yet composed. Mr. Kingsford is earnest in the search for truth, fearlessly independent in expressing his opinions; and the wealth of testimony with which, at much trouble and expense, he has supported his views and illustrated his theories, is worthy of all commendation.

JOHN READE.

(*To be continued.*)

THE MONTREAL WATER WORKS.

(*Communicated by* MR. DOUGLAS BRYMNER, *Dominion Government Archivist.*)

The present appearance of Dalhousie Square would not lead any one to believe that at one time it was considered so elevated as to serve for the protection of the town from fire by means of gravitation from a reservoir placed there. The following documents will show, not only the first corporators of the waterworks in Montreal, but that down to

1820, Citadel Hill, now Dalhousie Square, was used, not only by the first company, but also by the company of which Mr. Porteous was representative :—

To His Excellency Robert Shore Milnes, Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Lower Canada, etc., etc., etc. :

The petition of John Gray, Daniel Sutherland, Thomas Schieffelin and Stephen Sewell

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—

That your petitioners associated themselves for the purpose of supplying the City of Montreal with pure and wholesome water from springs situated nearly on the summit of the adjacent mountain, and that they last year commenced their operations by laying pipes and conducting the water to within a quarter of a mile of the said city, and applied to the Legislature last session for a charter of incorporation, which they have reason to hope will be granted them at the ensuing meeting of the Provincial Parliament. But finding that a reservoir is absolutely necessary, they humbly request Your Excellency would be pleased to grant them leave to construct the same on the citadel, as the most convenient place for the purpose, and as being of the greatest utility to the said city in case of fire, which, when sunk and covered in, will not even be perceptible, much less of an injury.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JOHN GRAY, S. SEWELL,
D. SUTHERLAND, THOS. SCHEFFELIN.

Montreal, August 30th, 1800.

(*Canadian Archives, Series C, Vol.* 605, *p.* 15.)

CASTLE OF ST. LEWIS,
QUEBEC, Jan. 29th, 1801.

SIR,—I enclose Your Excellency a copy of the petition which was presented to me when I was last in Montreal, the original of which I left in the hands of Major-General Burton. The object of the petitioners being to obtain permission to construct a reservoir in the Citadel, for the purpose of more easily supplying the Town of Montreal with water, it will remain with Your Excellency to determine whether or not it is advisable to comply with their request,

I understand they are desirous the work should be done under the inspection and control of the commanding engineer, and the great public utility of the project cannot but make me anxious for its success, provided it can be carried into execution without injury to the defence of the place.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most humble servant,

ROBT. S. MILNES.

(*Series C*, 605, *p.* 17.)

MONTREAL, June 21st, 1804.

SIR,—The proprietors of the Montreal Waterworks, having, two years ago, obtained permission from His Excellency General Hunter to erect a cistern on the Citadel Hill, but finding from experience that they had placed it too high up, had begun this summer to take it asunder in order to place it behind the workshop belonging to the Board of Ordnance, have been prevented by Sergt. Taylor, Royal Artillery, saying he could not allow that ground to be broken up without an order from the Commander-in-Chief. I have, therefore, to request that you would represent the matter to His Excellency, and obtain his permission, as it cannot in any way interfere with the Garrison, and be of infinite service to the town in case of fire.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

D. SUTHERLAND,
Treasurer M. W. W.

Should His Excellency require further information, I beg leave to refer him to Captain Bruyers, of the Royal Engineers (now at Quebec), who can explain everything respecting the above to the General's satisfaction.—D. S.

(*Series C*, 605, *p.* 36.)

MONTREAL, September 26, 1820.

SIR,—The company of proprietors of the Montreal Waterworks having obtained permission from His Excellency Sir John Coape Sherbrooke to make use of as much of the unoccupied ground upon the Citadel as they might require for the purpose of laying nd working up the materials necessary for the construction

of their works, I was very much surprised and disappointed today when, upon signifying my intention of laying down a quantity of materials upon the ground, now levelled in front of the reservoir, to Lieut. Phillpot, of the Royal Engineers, to meet with a positive refusal, and as this refusal will put the company to great expense and inconvenience, especially at this late season, I am under the disagreeable necessity of troubling His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to request him to have the goodness to renew the permission above alluded to, so generously granted by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, and shall bind and engage myself, on behalf of the company, to remove whatever materials they may have so laid upon the grounds in question, should a sale take place or the ground be otherwise particularly wanted.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

J. F. PORTEOUS.

(*Series C*, 605, *p.* 125.)

On the back of the last letter is a report from Lieut. Phillpots, R.E., that Mr. Porteous never asked his permission, and that his proposal, if agreed to, would undo what the engineers had been doing. Thereupon (in Lord Dalhousie's own hand) is a note from His Lordship declining to grant the request.

In 1822 Citadel Hill was laid out in building lots, and by a list of the payments of instalments, dated on the 29th of January, 1825, the following appear as the purchasers:—John Beston, 5 lots; John Forsyth, 6 lots; John B. Rolland, 4 lots; Joseph Masson, 5 lots; Robert Drummond, Jacques Viger, Levis M. Viger, 2 lots; Alexander Fraser, Thomas Busby, Joseph Gauvin. The amount paid to that date was $1,842; –4, made up of principal, 1661; interest, 181 –4. In the above list the purchasers to whose names the number of lots is not attached, acquired only one lot.

DOUGLAS BRYMNER.

(*Series C*, 605, *p.* 174.)

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CANADIAN HISTORIES.

Part II.

In works that treat in part of the period of the French régime, our libraries are rich. It happened, fortunately for posterity, that most of the distinguished men who had to do with the exploration and early settlement of New France were persons who could wield "the pen of a ready writer." Jacques Cartier, Lescarbot, Champlain, the Recollet, the Jesuit, and the Sulpician Fathers, wrote, for the benefit of the living world and the world unborn, of what their eyes had seen and their ears had heard. Of few nations, indeed, are the origins so distinctly traceable as those of ours. We can read in Jacques Cartier's travel-notes of that first authenticated voyage up the St. Lawrence, the river of Canada, and to what pious mindfulness it owes its well-known name. Record in hand, we can point out the sites of those primitive capitals of vanished but unforgotten realms—Stadacona and Hochelaga. Nor are we without glimpses of the obscure interval, crossed, we are told, by venerable Membertou, between the departure of Cartier and the

coming of Champlain. In his "Iroquois Book of Rites," Mr. H. Hale has done something to bridge the chasm by means of Indian tradition. Sir J. W. Dawson, also, in "Fossil Men," and Mr. B. Sulte, in "Iroquois and Algonquins," have speculated on the causes of the revolution which must have come to pass in those dark, intervening years. Light breaks forth anew when we come into touch with Champlain, and henceforth our footing is on *terra firma*. The devotion of the late Abbé Laverdière and the enterprise of Mr. G. E. Desbarats have endowed us with an edition of Champlain's writings, wonderful for the fidelity of the reproduction and the beauty of the material and workmanship.

As early as 1609, the versatile Marc Lescarbot published in Paris that "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," of many of the scenes described wherein he, *avocat en Parlement*, had been an eye-witness. It also contained the record of the visits of previous explorers to this or other parts of the New World, including the second voyage of Jacques Cartier. Of contemporary records, few surpass in interest and value the "Relations des Jésuites," reprinted in three volumes, at Quebec. The "Journal" of the Order, kept by the Superiors, Fathers Vimont, Mercier, and others, is still more important as an illustration of certain phases in the life of early New France. The work of the Recollet, Gabriel Sagard, covers the period from 1615 to 1629. The Latin history of Father DuCreux is now more curious than useful. The writings of Père Le Clerc, Recollet, are of political as much as of religious interest. From a different point of view, Baron La Hontan criticized pretty freely whatever came under his observation. The "Life and Letters of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation" cover the period from 1640 to 1672. To the same chronological terminus came, prematurely, Abbé Faillon's projected "Histoire de la Colonie Francaise." Notwithstanding occasional lapses from accuracy and taste (as where he undertakes to defend the Span-

ish bigot and bloodshedder, Menendez), Abbé Faillon's work, fragment though it is, must be reckoned one of the most satisfying stores of information for the period treated. How much Dr. Parkman owes to him, readers of that brilliant writer's earlier works must be aware. Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers and the founder of a well-known family, wrote a history of New France, in which he gave some valuable information on the resources of the country. It was published at Paris in 1663, and was reprinted at Quebec by E. Frechette in 1849. The history of the Ursulines of Three Rivers sheds welcome light on the character and habits of the people that owed M. Boucher allegiance. The treatise called "Les Veritables Motifs de Mes Sieurs et Dames du Montréal," recently republished, under Abbé Verreau's supervision, by the *Société Historique*, and the "Histoire de Montréal," of Dollier de Casson, published by the same society and by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, should be read, along with Abbé Rousseau's lately published "Vie de Maisonneuve," by the student of Montreal's beginnings. The works of Marquette* and Hennepin are utilized in Parkman's "La Salle," in which con-

*At a recent meeting of the Society for Historical Studies, the President, Mr. John Talon-Lesperance, exhibited a series of most interesting and valuable relics, associated with Father Marquette and his discoveries. It comprised the original map, showing the great river and the route of the explorers, a journal in Marquette's beautiful handwriting, a letter from the same source and a photographic *fac-simile* of his signature, as it appeared in the church register of the ancient parish of Boucherville. These manuscripts, as Mr. Lesperance explained, had been kept with scrupulous care in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in this country, until the death of the last surviving member of the order, the venerable and venerated Father Cazot. On his decease they passed, for safe-keeping, into hands to whose worthiness of the trust their condition to-day bears witness. The society passed a unanimous vote of thanks to Father Jones, S.J., who had kindly lent the manuscripts to Mr. Lesperance. Immediately after the meeting, they were restored to their anxious guardian at St. Mary's College.

nection the labours of Margry, only fairly begun, when that fine volume was written, must not be forgotten. The succinct sketch of Father Belmont's "Histoire du Canada" carries the story down, with a running pen, to the year 1700. With the aid of Charlevoix, who may still be profitably read, we can have a fairly full survey of events for a quarter of a century more. The period from the death of Gov. de Vaudreuil to the commencement of the closing struggle, is illustrated by several valuable memoirs on the state of Canada, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and by Mr. G. E. Hart's "Fall of New France," the first fruits of the Society for Historical Studies. I must not forget to mention the "Collection de Manuscrits," (in four crown quarto volumes) issued by the Quebec Government, and the series of "Jugements et Deliberations du Conseil Souverain et Conseil Supérieur," of which four bulky volumes, bringing the record down to 1705, have already appeared. The earlier "Edits et Ordonnances," in three volumes, the "Histoire du Droit Canadien" by Messrs. Doutre et Lareau, and Mr. Lareau's more recent work on the same subject, of which the second volume has just appeared, are also important in the same connection. The first volume of Mr. Lareau's work is devoted to the legal history of the Old Régime.

Provincial and Local Histories.

Several of our best writers have confined their researches to their own provinces; some of them to their own counties or towns. Judge T. C. Haliburton wrote an "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," in two volumes, which was published at Halifax in the year 1829. It is a work of merit, but the purely historical portion is meagre, and it closes with the year 1763. The rest of the first volume consists of a series of chronological tables, which brings the record of events down to the year 1828. The

second volume is altogether statistical. In "Sam Slick" and "The Old Judge," the reader finds a series of admirable pictures of colonial life, based largely on the author's own experience. The fuller history of Mr. Beamish Murdoch, in three volumes, also ends in 1828. Carayon's "Première Mission des Jésuites en Canada," published at Paris in 1864, is, as the title implies, confined to the early years of the colony. The "Histoire de l'Acadie," of M. Moreau, published at Paris in 1873, is valuable for the light that it sheds on the career of Latour's rival, D'Aulnay de Charnisay, to the records of whose family the author had access. In connection with the same historical character it may not be out of place to mention "Constance of Acadia," which, though a work of fiction, is worth reading for the vivid pictures that it gives of a period of turmoil and struggle. The "Voyage en Acadie en 1700," of Dièreville, properly belongs to another division of this paper. "La France aux Colonies" and "Une Colonie Féodale," written by M. Rameau, who lately visited Canada for the second time, are both remarkable works, and the latter especially sheds much fresh light on the character and aspirations of the Acadians. The series of papers contributed by Senator Poirier to the *Revue Canadienne* for 1874 and 1875, and the writings of Abbé Casgrain, "Un Pélerinage au Pays d'Evangeline," etc., as well as the documents, collected by that diligent student, bearing on the events preceding the Expulsion, may also be profitably consulted. The volume of "Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia," edited by Dr. T. B. Akins, and published in 1869, should also be carefully studied, both for the period 1714-1755 and for the settlement of Halifax, 1749-1756. Into the controversy between Senator Poirier and M. Rameau, and that between Abbé Casgrain and the editors of the "Archives of Nova Scotia," or their authorities, I cannot, of course, enter here. In a single readable volume of 440 pages, Mr. James Hannay has written the "History of

Acadia" during the period of its occupation by the French and up to the time when it was finally surrendered to England by the Treaty of Paris. It was published at St. John, N.B., by Messrs. J. & A. McMillan, in 1879. Abraham Gesner brought out in 1849 a work on "The Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia," a work, however, which hardly comes under this division of the subject. An excellent work on "Nova Scotia, in its Historical, Industrial and Commercial Relations," was written by Mr. Duncan Campbell, and published in 1873 by Mr. John Lovell, of this city. Cape Breton has been separately treated by several writers, of whom one of the earliest is M. Pichon, whose "Lettres et Mémoires pour servir a l'Histoire naturelle, civile et politique du Cap Breton depuis son établissement jusqu'à la reprise de cette isle par les Anglais en 1758," was published at The Hague in 1760. The portion of the history that concerns Louisbourg has been treated by a number of writers, whose works pertain to military rather than to provincial bibliography. Other portions of the province have also formed the subjects of separate treatises, such as the Rev. Dr. Patterson's "History of the County of Pictou,"* White's "Halifax," etc.

In 1806 was published, at London, a work entitled, "An Account of Prince Edward's Island, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, North America; containing its geography, a description of its different divisions, soil, climate, seasons, natural productions, cultivation, discovery, conquest, progress, and present state of the settlement, government, constitution, laws and religion," by John Stewart. The history of Mr. Duncan Campbell is a work of merit, and is comparatively recent.

New Brunswick has had several historians, including the Rev. Christopher Atkinson, whose "Historical and Statistical Account" of the province was published at Edinburgh

* The Governors of King's College, Windsor, offered prizes for county histories, but the essays thus elicited are still in manuscript.

in 1844; Mr. Abraham Gesner, whose "New Brunswick, with Notes for Emigrants, comprehending the Early History, an Account of the Indians, etc.," was issued in London in 1847, and the Rev. Robert Cooney (whom some Montrealers, doubtless, remember), whose "Compendium History of New Brunswick and of the District of Gaspé," appeared at Halifax in 1832.†

It will be seen that Gaspé is coupled with New Brunswick in Mr. Cooney's title. That county has also its historians, such as Mr. Langelier, and Dr. Dionne, of Quebec, who devotes some interesting pages of a little prize volume to the lieutenant-governors of that sometime quasi-province. Mr. J. M. LeMoine has also dealt with the same little-touched subject in his "Chronicles of the St. Lawrence." To a former representative of Gaspé in the Quebec Legislature, we owe one of the most valuable collections of historic material that any single author belonging to this province has compiled regarding its past. I mean Mr. Robert Christie's "History of the late Province of Lower Canada, parliamentary and political, from the commencement to the close of its existence as a separate province." On the appearance of the second edition in 1866, the *Gazette* of

† It may not be without interest, in a historical paper like this, to recall a sermon preached by Mr. Cooney "in the Wesleyan chapel, Odelltown, November 9, 1839, being the first anniversary of the battle fought at the above place between the insurgents and the loyal volunteers," which was published at Montreal in 1840. In a review of the sermon, the *Gazette* of those days thus commented on it and the occasion that called it forth :—"This pious, loyal and patriotic discourse is dedicated to, and published at the request of, Lieut.-Col. Taylor, C.B., and the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the La Colle, Odelltown and Hemmingford Volunteer Corps, who so gloriously and triumphantly defended their hearths and constitution, on the 9th November, 1838, against a combined attack of marauders from the United States, and native insurgents who are well described by Mr. Cooney as one of the most ungrateful race of men that ever lived."

this city gave the following interesting sketch of the author and his work:—"We regard with a particular sort of affection these volumes of an old friend of long ago, who, although not one of the great men, was one of the features and distinctive characters for many years of the House of Assembly before and after the Union. He had many troubles with it in the old times, and was more than once unjustly and harshly dealt with by the old House of Assembly of Lower Canada, as he shews in these volumes. He was yet a simple and single-minded man, with almost no guile, at times exhibiting that particular kind of courage which led him to butt his head against the stone wall of superior power. He dressed quaintly—in the style of a former generation; and as in his dress, so in his manners, he never adapted himself to the times. He was a man of great industry, as these volumes shew. He was not the most polished of writers, nor was his style that which was most economical of his readers' time and attention; but as a repertory of old and curious facts, which cannot elsewhere be so conveniently found, concerning the history of Lower Canada up to the period of the Union, including the troubles which culminated in the Rebellion, Mr. Christie's volumes are very valuable. He furnishes copies of old despatches, old speeches, old newspaper articles, etc., which had force in their day; which are now very interesting to read, and which are very valuable as *pièces* or *mémoires pour servir*."

JOHN READE.

(*To be continued.*)

Notes.

[*Communicated by* Mr. JOHN T. LESPERANCE, *Pres. Soc. Hist. Studies, Montreal.*]

1.

The county of Verchères derives its name from François Jarret de Verchéres, captain in the Carignan regiment, The seignory bearing his name was granted him on the 29th October, 1672. Its dimensions are one league by two

deep, bounded by the St. Lawrence river and the St. Blain, Bellevue and Cournoyer fiefs.

2.

When the province of Quebec was first parcelled into counties, the county of Verchères formed part of the broad electoral district of Surrey. Its actual boundaries were assigned by the Act of 16 Vict., ch. 152, sec. 50 (1853). The two exploits of Mme. de Verchères, in 1690, and of Mlle. de Verchères, in 1692, as given by Charlevoix, will be told in the next Notes.

3.

Contrecœur, the next parish to Verchères, draws its name from Antoine Pécandy de Contrecœur, also captain in the Carignan regiment. He wedded Barbe Denis, and became seignor of Contrecœur on the 29th October, 1672. The house of Contrecœur was distinguished, in after times, by its pluck, ability, and high deeds of arms.

4.

The seignory of Varennes, lying west of Verchères, was granted to René Gauthier, lieutenant of the Carignan regiment, by Talon, the great Intendant, on the 29th October, 1672. It measured twenty arpents front, by one league in depth.

5.

An inexhaustible and authentic account of the parishes of the province of Quebec, written out by the first missionaries and continued by the curates ever since, furnishes an incalculable quantity of historical material nowhere else to be found. Consult the Genealogical Dictionary of Abbé Tanguay and his condensed work, "A Travers les Régistres."

6.

Rev. Father Burtin, for nearly thirty years missionary at Caughnawaga, has completed the first volume of the history of that mission from the beginning down to our day.

He has also finished a translation into Iroquois of sacred history, and the hymns and liturgy of the Church, which will remain as an heirloom in the archives of the mission.

7.

There has been a controversy between Mr. Wm. Kingsford, the historian, and Dr. Hubert Neilson, as to the first book published in Canada, from which not much light can be derived, as Mr. Kingsford is rather arbitrary in eliminating catalogues, almanacs, and other pamphlets from the list.

8.

Pending that discussion, Mr. Gagnon, the Quebec collector, proves the publication of seven books prior to the date of 1832, set down by Mr. Kingsford as the date of the first book put forth in Canada. the title being "History of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States. By David Thompson, Niagara, 1832."

9.

Mr. Gagnon's seven books are:—

I. "St. Ursula's Convent; or, The Nuns of Canada. Containing Scenes of Real Life. Kingston, Upper Canada, 1824." No copy of this is known.

II. "Wonders of the West; or, A Day at the Falls of Niagara in 1825. A Poem. By a Canadian. 1825. C. Fothergill, Printer, York (Toronto). 46 pp. 12o." This book is in Mr. Gagnon's hands.

III. "A Report of the Case of Sheldon Hawley v. George Hand. Kingston. 1826."

IV. "Lower Canada Watchman. Pro Patria. 1829."

Mr. Gagnon then names three reprints of 1831.

[*Communicated by* Mr. W. D. Lighthall, *Secretary Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.*]

One of the pet desultory specialties of the writer, in historical matters, has been the doings of the Knicker-

bocker or Dutch-American race of the old colony of New Netherland, later carved into the Provinces of New York and New Jersey. In an article in the *Week*, I last summer sketched roughly the active and extraordinary part taken for over a century by the Dutch seignorial families, headed by the Schuylers, of Albany, in the campaign for the conquest of Canada. Two important items might be added to this record as follows: 1. That the Phipps expedition against Quebec in 1690 was planned by them at Albany and pressed upon the people of Boston by an embassy consisting of the patron, Robert Livingston, who had married a Schuyler (sister of his close friend Col. Pieter), and Captain Teunisse Van Vechten, whose mother was also one of the Schuylers. 2. Mr. Kingsford, in his late history, comes to the conclusion that the British colonies produced no able soldiers or statesmen to compare with those of New France, except the Schuylers (Pieter and John), and perhaps Colonel Vetch, who had great schemes for the destruction of the French-American power. Vetch's plans, however, seem to return to the same source, as his wife was a daughter of Livingston and thus the Schuylers were his relatives by marriage. Perhaps the lesson is that the seignorial system, under certain conditions, was unexcelled in producing successions of public men. In later generations, the DeLanceys, the Van Cortlands, the Beverley Robinsons, and such men, were the mainstay of the Loyalist cause.

[*Communicated by* Mr. Henry Mott, *Librarian of McGill College.*]

Quebec, May 28, 1825.

"One of Gilbert & Son's thermometers, exposed in a high situation in Mountain Street, and upon which a high south-west wind played, rose in the shade on Friday last to 95 degrees Fahrenheit. Exposed to the sun in a similar situation it rose to 125 degrees of the same scale. We believe that this is the greatest heat experienced in this city, at this period of the year. It is very unusual."—*Monthly Register*, 1825.

April 10, 1825.

Died in the gaol of Montreal, Samuel B. Sheldon, aged 30 years.—*Monthly Register*, 1825.

Judge Mackay has written as a foot note,

"*Imprisoned for debt.*"

[*Communicated by* Mr. Henry Mott, *Librarian of McGill College.*]

On the green sward in front of the court house at Perth, Ont., are two brass field-pieces (three-pounders), to which an interesting history is attached. They were originally taken from the French by the Duke of York, in Flanders, and did service for the British in the American war; when they were taken from General Burgoyne at the battle of Saratoga. They were retaken from the Americans by the British at the battle of Chrysler's Farm, on the 11th Nov., 1813, which Mr. Marrion's father took part in, and Mr. Marrion himself,* then a youngster of about seven years old, was an eye-witness. He relates how the women and children belonging to the troops engaged in the fight were sent down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence in *bateaux*, and the one in which he was with his mother was struck in the bow by a round shot, which fortunately did no injury to those on board. With a boy's curiosity, and of course not knowing the danger he was in, he crawled up the bank, under which the *bateau* was moored, to close to where his father's regiment was, and from there he saw the repulse of the American dragoons when they attempted a passage across a bridge.

In the same year (1813) Mr. Marrion crossed Lake Ontario from Kingston to Niagara with Mr. Peter White, the pioneer settler of Pembroke, in the man-of-war "Earl of Moira," with the 49th regiment on board..

The two guns, before alluded to, have still the original trails and axles, and they bear the inscription on the breech: "J. & R. Verbruggan, *fecerunt* 1775 and 1776,"—showing by

* Still living.

the name that they are probably either of Flemish or Belgian manufacture. They were taken to Perth when peace was declared, and presented to the town, and are now used for saluting purposes on high days and holidays.

Amongst the many valuable pamphlets in the library of McGill College, is one bearing the imprint of the founder of "*The Gazette*," dated from Philadelphia, 1774. The full title is as follows:—

LETTRE
ADDRESSÉE
AUX HABITANS
DE LA PROVINCE
DE
QUÉBEC,
Ci-devant le Canada.
De la part du Congrès Général de la Amerique Septentrionale,
tenu à Philadelphie.

Imprimé et publiée par Ordre de Congrès,
À Philadelphie,
De L'Imprimerie de Fleury Mesplet.
M,DCC,LXXIV.

Societies.

NEW BRUNSWICK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The annual business meeting of the New Brunswick Historical Society was held on Tuesday evening, November 27. After the receipt and consideration of accounts and the transaction of other routine business, the Society proceeded to elect the following officers:—President, W. P. Dole; Vice-presidents, S. D. Scott and D. H. Waterbury; Corresponding Secretary, Jonas Howe; Treasurer, W. K. Crawford; Secretary, C. Ward; Librarian, Col. Cunard; Executive Council—J. W.

Lawrence, D. L. Robinson, W. C. Drury, I. Allen Jack, and A. A. Stockton.

On Tuesday, December 4, the President, W. P. Dole, read a carefully prepared paper on the disputed "Site of Fort La Tour."

At the meeting held in January, Mr. J. W. Lawrence read a paper on "The First King's Printer in New Brunswick."

Society for Historical Studies.—The first and annual meeting of the season 1888-89 was held in Fraser Institute on 7th Nov., 1888. Mr. Mott gave an account of his visit to Deerfield, where he had lectured as the delegate of this society. The retiring President, Mr. Gerald E. Hart, in the course of his address, made interesting mention of the progress of the society, and made special remarks on the value of the study of history. Officers were then elected for the present session. On the 20th Nov., 1888, Mr. John Fair, Jr., read a paper on "The Family Compact," and Mr. Lesperance the first part of a paper on "Marquette." On the 5th Dec., 1888, Mr. Reade read a paper on "Canadian Histories." On the 19th Dec., 1888, Mr. Lesperance read the second part of his paper on "Marquette." At the meeting held on 16th Jan., 1889, Mr. Henry Mott read extracts from Miss Baker's paper on "Bishop Plessis," which were discussed. Mr. Lesperance exhibited the original manuscript of Marquette's narrative, from the library of the Jesuit college in this city. A vote of thanks was tendered to Rev. Mr. Jones, S.J., for the loan of this manuscript. These meetings are held fortnightly in the Fraser Institute.

J. P. Edwards, *Sec.-Treas.*

Society for Historical Studies, Montreal.—This society was organized at a meeting held on the 2nd March, 1885, at which Messrs. John Reade, Thos. McDougall, J. P. Edwards and W. J. White were present. The first paper was read by Mr. Francis McLennan on the 18th November,

1885, and was entitled "The Political History of the Church down to the Conquest." Since then meetings have been regularly held, and the society has made steady progress. There are now forty-one resident members on the roll. The officers since the formation of the society have been as follows:—

1885-86.—President, Thos. McDougall; Vice-President, John Reade; Secretary-Treasurer, W. J. White; Council—Gerald E. Hart and J. P. Edwards.

1886-87.—President, John Reade; Vice-President, Gerald E. Hart; Secretary-Treasurer, W. J. White; Council—J. P. Edwards and John Talon Lesperance.

1887-88.—President, Gerald E. Hart; Vice-President, J. Talon Lesperance; Secretary-Treasurer, W. J. White; Council—H. Mott and W. W. L. Chipman.

1888-89.—President, John Talon Lesperance; Vice-President, W. J. White; Secretary-Treasurer, J. P. Edwards; Council—W. W. L. Chipman and W. D. Lighthall.

[Secretaries of societies are requested to send reports of their meetings.—Ed.]

Queries and Replies.

A tradition exists that at the surrender of Montreal to the English Army in 1760, the keys were handed over to the conquerors *by a woman*. The tradition came to my notice during a conversation on antiquarian recollections with Mr. Wm. Hurst, the manager of the Job Office of the *Witness*, whose maternal grandparents were French-Canadians called Meunier. Mr. Hurst said that his grandmother was very fond of recounting things of the past, and that one of the things she was most pleased to tell was that she had known the woman, then very old, who had handed over the keys of the city to the English at its surrender. Is there anything to corroborate or explain this? Mr. Hurst, as far as he himself is concerned, is an unusually accurate and intelligent man.

W. D. Lighthall.

In "Ticknor's Maritime Provinces," a handbook for tourists from the United States, the following item occurs at page 311:— "Opposite the beautiful Corinthian colonnade of the Bank of Montreal (beyond St. François-Xavier street, the Wall street of Montreal), the *Place d'Armes* is seen. This square was so named because it was the parade ground of Montgomery's American Army in 1775." I had always understood that this square was the scene of Maisonneuve's battle with the Indians in 1664, and that it should be translated "the *battle* ground," not "the *parade* ground."—Ed.

E. W., asks the origin of the name "Blue Bonnets," the suburb of Montreal with a well-known race-course and level crossing.

Publications Received.

Foot-Prints; or, Incidents in Early History of New Brunswick. By J. W. Lawrence, Corresponding Member, New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Honorary Member Quebec Literary and Historical Society, Honorary Member Worcester Society of Antiquity. Saint John, N.B.: J. & A. McMillan, 98 Prince William street. 1883.

Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. No. 17 and No. 18. Sessions 1882 to 1885. Two vols. F. C. Würtele, Esq., Librarian, Quebec.

Journal written by Edward Baker Littlehales (Major of Brigade, etc.,) of an exploratory tour, partly in sleighs but chiefly on foot, from Navy Hall, Niagara, to Detroit, made in the months of February and March, A.D. 1793, by His Excellency Lieut.-Gov. Simcoe, with introduction and notes by Henry Scadding, D.D., Author of "Toronto of Old," "The Four Decades of York, Upper Canada," (in the Semi-Centennial Memorial Volume of Toronto) etc. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, Printers. 1889.

The Battle of Lundy's Lane, 1814. An address delivered before the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, October 16th, 1888, by Ernest. Cruikshank. Welland: Wm. T. Sawle, Printer, *Telegraph* Office. This pamphlet may be obtained by communicating with the Rev. Canon Bull, President of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, Niagara Falls South, or any of the other officers.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

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CANADIAN HISTORIES.

PART III.

(*Concluded*)

Since Christie completed his "History of the Late Province of Lower Canada,*" many fresh sources of information touching the period covered by his six volumes have come to light. Of the important period from the conquest to 1791, when the foundations of British rule were firmly laid in the Eastern Provinces of the Dominion, all that Christie says is comprised within 100 pages or so of his first volume. Nor, during the long and eventful generation that has elapsed since the publication of the work, has any writer who could speak with authority undertaken the task of dealing with it fully and impartially on the basis of original documents. Hitherto, indeed, the materials for

* It is scarcely necessary to say that this paper is not intended to be a complete bibliography of Canadian history. It could, however, be turned to account for that end by a careful use of the works mentioned, nearly all of which contain references to other works treating of their chosen subjects.

treating it worthily and fairly have been, for the most part, inaccessible to ordinary students. The late Hon. Jacques Viger did good service in the collection of manuscripts, mainly of an official character, bearing on the military *régime* of General Murray, and some of the most valuable results of his researches were printed by the *Société Historique* of this city, under the editorial supervision of the learned Abbé Verreault. The late Mr. R. A. Ramsay gave much attention to the interval between 1759 and 1774, the year of the passage of the Quebec Act, and his two essays on the subject, read before the Athenæum Club, to which I had the pleasure of listening, were supplemented by a number of *piéces justificatives* of extreme value.* The period in question has an exceptional interest as that of British supremacy through nearly the whole of North America. To the greater portion of it the not inappropriate name of "*Le temps de malaise et de confusion*" has been applied in Canada. But that description is equally applicable to it, if we include the other British colonies. The fate of New France had hardly been decided when the dissatisfaction with the metropolitan administration, which had hitherto been kept dormant by the presence of a powerful rival, began to take formal shape in the New England and other provinces.

The history of Canada, therefore, up to and after 1774, — indeed, on till the loyalist settlements which followed the peace of 1783,— is, to a great extent, mixed up with the movement for independence among its old foes to the south of it. Both on the course of events and the bibliography of the period, much fresh light is shed in the fifth and sixth volumes of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," edited by Mr. Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University, especially in chapter viii. of the former (by the editor) and chapters viii. and ix. of the latter,

*It is to be hoped that Mr. Ramsay's papers will be placed ere long within reach of historical inquirers.

by Mr. A. McFarland Davis and Mr. Wm. F. Poole, respectively.* "The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac," by Dr. Francis Parkman, gives a vivid picture of the dangers that England had to face in establishing her authority at the western outposts of her newly won domain. Col. Henry Bouquet's "Relation Historique contre les Indiens de l'Ohio en 1764" may be read in the same connection. The campaign of 1763–64 is also recorded in Thomas Mante's "History of the late War in North America." General Murray's military rule ended with the publication of his new commission in August, 1764. For the remainder of his term — his less than two years of civil administration, and the rule of his successor, Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Lord Dorchester) — till the passage of the Quebec Act, certain documents reproduced or indicated in the Archives Reports should be carefully read.

How the welcome change was brought about which makes so many manuscripts of the utmost interest and value accessible to the inquirer, Mr. William Kingsford has related in his instructive essay, "Canadian Archæology." The bureau was organized as a branch of the Department of Agriculture, Immigration and Statistics, in the year 1871, and in 1872 the collection was begun and the first Report issued. Though it consisted of less than four pages of appendix, it was brimful of important information and opportune suggestion, and gave the keynote to the character of a series of rare worth, both as to fulness and accuracy. The archivist, Mr. Douglas Brymner, had visited the capitals of all the provinces, in order to examine the records preserved and the methods of keeping them. The second

* The first seven chapters of Volume IV. are mainly devoted to French discoveries and colonization. A general bibliography of Canadian history is appended to Dr. G. Stewart's treatise on "Frontenac and his Times." Chapters i. and iii. of the third, and chapters i., vii. and viii. of the fifth volume, may also be profitably consulted.

Report, that of 1873, gave the results of Mr. Brymner's visit to London — a visit which was destined to prove fruitful in many ways. Meanwhile the Dominion Government had instructed the Rev. Abbé Verreault, principal of the Jacques Cartier Normal School and president of the *Société Historique*, to undertake a mission of research to England and France; and the Report for 1874 bears the signature of that learned historian. The foregoing Reports may be called preliminary, their object being to show the wealth of the various material bearing on our history that was scattered through the provinces and the great depositories of the Old World, and the urgent need for having the most valuable documents copied, classified and indexed, and placed in safe keeping. In 1881 a new series began, which has since been regularly continued from year to year. The manner in which Mr. Brymner has discharged his duties merits the gratitude of every student of Canadian history. Nor is there any phase of his work deserving of more thankful recognition than that which relates to the period between the Conquest and the Constitutional Act, including the administrations of Governors Murray, Haldimand and Carleton (before and after his elevation to the peerage as Lord Dorchester). The Calendar of the Haldimand Collection, with the archivist's notes and comments, is virtually invaluable as a revelation of the real state of affairs and the characters of the chief actors—Haldimand himself especially. With these Reports and access to the documents which they so clearly describe and appreciate, the inquirer of to-day has advantages over his predecessors in the study of his country's past which he can hardly prize too highly, and of which he should not neglect to avail himself.*

To understand the civil and constitutional history of the time under review, one thing essentially necessary is careful

* What is thought in England of Mr. Brymner's work as archivist by those best qualified to speak of it, we have already made known to the reader. See *ante*, p. 3, No. 1.

study of the Terms of Capitulation, the Act of 1774, and the Act of 1791. Dr. J. G. Bourinot's "Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada," and Mr. Lareau's "Histoire du Droit Canadien," as well as the earlier joint work of Messrs. Doutre and Lareau, may be used as commentaries. Dr. Bourinot's treatise on the development of local government in Canada, though chiefly concerned with comparatively recent years, may also be consulted for evidence of tendencies towards municipal rule, even in the last century. For indications of sentiment, in both sections of the population, with regard to the Quebec Act and allied subjects, the writings of Baron Francis Masères and M. Cugnet, including more or less accurate accounts of public meetings on the subject, have been already used by our historians. The reports of the Imperial law officers are still of interest. The views of the English colonists in New York and New England on the same measure have lost none of their importance to the student who would arrive at a fair judgment of the impulses that hastened the Revolution. On the last point much valuable and some fresh information, with copious references to authorities, is contained in Chap. I. ("The Revolution Impending," by Mr. Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of Boston Public Library,) of Volume VI. of Winsor's "History of America." The following chapter from Mr. Winsor's own pen ("The Conflict Precipitated") has also frequent references to Canada's direct and indirect share in the struggle. It comprises, *inter alia*, an account of the Congress's missions to the Canadians. The commissioners in the first instance were Robert E. Livingstone, John Langdon, and Robert Treat Paine; the members of the second and more famous deputation were Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. The campaign in Canada, including the defence of Quebec and the death of Montgomery, is also fully treated by Mr. Winsor, who, as usual, makes ample mention of his sources of knowledge. To these I would refer the curious reader.

Of the half century covered by Christie's "History," the years that are of central interest are 1812-'15 and 1837-'38. But neither the War nor the Rebellion can be understood without a careful study of several years preceding the declaration in one case and the outbreak in the other. Both events are the themes of a copious pamphlet literature. Here, of course, I am concerned only with those which had their origin in Canada. Auchinleck's "History of the War between Great Britain and the United States, in 1812, '13 and '14," appeared first in Maclear's *Anglo-American Magazine*. It was published in Toronto in book form in 1855. Major Richardson's "War of 1812" was issued at Brockville in 1842. The well-written single volume of the late W. F. Coffin, Esquire, "1812: The War and Its Moral," which was published by John Lovell in 1864, closes with a spirited account of the battle of Chateauguay.

The story of the Rebellion has been told by various pens. The Report of the Gosford Commission gives some idea of the state of this province in the years preceding the rising. In 1824 was published a number of pamphlets for and against the union of the Canadas, as a remedy for the existing dissatisfaction. Later, a volume was published showing the alleged defects of the Constitutional Act. In 1828 appeared the Report of the Select Committee on the Civil Government, with the evidence of a number of prominent men. In 1832 was published a Review of the Proceedings in the Legislature of Lower Canada in the previous year, with an appendix containing important documents. In 1832 a book was published in this city comprising the Ninety-two Resolutions, with the debates on them. These successive publications (of which I have mentioned only a few out of many) indicate the increasing tension in the relations between the malcontent portion of the population and the authorities.

In Upper Canada the dissatisfaction had taken a similar

form—the writings of Messrs. Gourlay and Mackenzie being among the principal pleas for the popular side. In both provinces, committees had been appointed to consider grievances complained of. In 1837 there was published in London a work entitled "Canadiana," which dealt chiefly with the crisis in the political affairs of the colony. The fullest history of the Upper Canadian Rebellion is that of Mr. Dent, whose conclusions, however, as to the leaders of the movement have not given universal satisfaction. It was published in 1885 by Mr. C. Blackett Robinson, in two handsome volumes. A reply to it, entitled "The Other Side of 'The Story'," appeared shortly after from the pen of Mr. John King, barrister. The Life of W. L. Mackenzie, by his son-in-law, Mr. Charles Lindsey, Sir Francis B. Head's "Narrative" and "The Emigrant," and Lord Glenelg's despatches to him during his administration are among the most important works on the subject. Mr. C.A.M. Globensky's story of the Rebellion in this province, which was called forth by some strictures on his late father, who had served in it on the loyal side, and which also includes the "Journal Historique" of the Rev. M. Paquin, touching events at St. Eustache, was severely criticized by Mr. L. O. David, M.P.P. Mr. Globensky replied to Mr. David's strictures in a pamphlet of considerable length. In 1887, the fiftieth anniversary of the Rebellion, the *Star* of this city published a long illustrated narrative of it, which was written by Mr. John Talon Lesperance, President of the Society for Historical Studies. The "State Trials," published in this city in 1839, and the "Procès Politique de la Reine *versus* Jalbert," are among numerous contemporary publications bearing on the drama.

"The Report and Despatches of the Earl of Durham," as High Commissioner, which provoked a reply from Judge Haliburton, was the pioneer of a new era. The Lives of Lords Sydenham, Metcalfe and Elgin may be studied for the purpose of tracing the development in Canada of the

principle of Responsible Government. The crisis in Lord Metcalfe's time evoked some sharp criticisms in the form of pamphlets, which it is worth while comparing with the despatches of Lord Elgin on the later crisis. The whole period of the union is fully and fairly treated in the two volumes of the late L. P. Turcotte, "Canada sous l'Union. The late Mr. Dent has more than covered the same ground in his "Last Forty Years," on which Abbé Casgrain has written an able criticism, condemning the author's tone in treating of this province.

The literature that deals with the subject of Federal Union in Canada is pretty extensive. Before the first quarter of the century had closed, Messrs. Sewell, Stewart, Robinson and Strachan had devised a plan for a legislative union of all the colonies, which was formulated in a "Letter to Her Majesty's Under-Secretary of State." The Hon. Henry Sherwood subsequently advocated federative union, and the Hon. Alexander Morris, in an essay, read in this city in 1858 and lately published under the title of "Nova Britannia," gave a forecast of what was accomplished in 1867. The whole subject is fully treated in Col. John Hamilton Gray's "Confederation."

Both in Ontario and Quebec, several interesting works have appeared which bear only or chiefly on the history of localities. Of this class are Mrs. Day's two volumes on "The Eastern Townships," Mr. Thomas's book on the same subject, E. Smith & Co.'s "Eastern Townships Gazetteer," Mr. J. M. LeMoine's "Quebec, Past and Present," "Picturesque Quebec," and some of his valuable Maple Leaves series; Hawkins' "Picture of Quebec"; Bosworth's "Hochelaga Depicta," H. Sandham's "Montreal, Past and Present"; T. W. H. Leavitt's History of Leeds and Grenville; Burrows' "Annals of the Town of Guelph"; Young's "Reminiscences of Galt and Dumfries"; Croil's "Dundas"; Dr. Scadding's "Toronto of Old"; the fine memorial volume prepared jointly by Dr. Scadding and the late Mr. Dent; Mr. Sellar's

"Huntingdon, Chateauguay and Beauharnois"; Sulte's "Chronique Trifluvienne"; Messrs. Brown and Smith's "City of Hamilton"; Balcer's "City of Three Rivers as a Seaport"; Buies' "Saguenay"; Langelier's "Gaspesie," and a number of others.

Crossing the western boundary of Ontario, we are at no loss for works of reference touching provincial or local history and the development of the North-West as a whole. If all the treatises relating to that half of the Dominion were to be mentioned, this paper would have to be considerably extended. Of living authorities on the subject, I may mention the Rev. Dr. Bryce, of Manitoba College, Winnipeg, author of the "Short History of the Canadian People," whose preceding work, "Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth and Present Condition," has become a recognized work of reference in both hemispheres; Prof. John Macoun, whose "Manitoba and the Great North-West" is a store of multifarious knowledge; Mr. Charles N. Bell, author of "Our Northern Waters"; C. R. Tuttle,* author of "Our Northland," and the continuator of the Hon. Donald Gunn's History of Manitoba; Mr. J. Tassé's "Les Canadiens dans l'Ouest"; Bishop Bompas, whose small volume on the Mackenzie region abounds in little known facts; Dr. Selwyn, C.M.G., Dr. G. M. Dawson, F.G.S., Dr. Bell, F.G.S., and other members of the Geological and Natural History Survey, and the volumes in H. H. Bancroft's series dealing with the history of the North-West coast. The bibliography of North-West exploration is outlined in Dr. Bryce's "Journeys in Rupert's Land," contributed to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1886, beginning with La Verandrye in 1731, and coming down to the expedition of Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.M.G., as related in Principal Grant's "Ocean to Ocean." A later journey by rail is de-

* In the list of histories concerning the entire period, Tuttle's "Illustrated History of the Dominion," in two large volumes, was by oversight omitted.

scribed by Mr. Fleming himself in his "New to Old Westminster." The history of Manitoba as a province is scattered through various works—those of Milton and Cheadle, Hargrave, Huyshe, Butler, Watkins, Horetzky, Hamilton, Bryce, Gunn and Tuttle, with the multitude of books and pamphlets called forth by the second Riel rising and the opening of the Canadian Pacific, of which I may mention those of Major Boulton and Mr. G. Mercer Adam.

Of works dealing especially with the growth of our population, the list is not large, but some of them are of exceptional importance. The papers of Senator Poirier in *La Revue Canadienne* regarding the Acadians have already been mentioned. For the *origines* of British settlement in Nova Scotia, Dr. Akins' volume of Archives may be consulted, and for the beginnings of British colonization in Quebec, the series of Mr. Brymner. The *Dictionnaire Généalogique* of Monseigneur Tanguay is invaluable to the student of Canadian ethnography. Mr. Sulte, Abbé Ferland, and Dr. Hingston in his excellent book on "The Climate of Canada," have also been at much pains to shed light on this subject. Mrs. Day, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Sellar have done something to account for the British accessions to Quebec's population during the present century. Dr. Canniff's "Settlement of Upper Canada" is unhappily rare, but I have found it a rich mine of information as to the Loyalist influx after the Revolution, and especially (as the title indicates) for the Bay of Quinté district. Along with it should be studied the work of the author's kinsman, Mr. Canniff Haight's "Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago." The late Dr. Ryerson's "Loyalists" and the "Story of My Life" are also instructive to the student of Ontario's origin. Col. Sabine's work, "The American Loyalists," is also indispensable. Some papers by Mr. W. Kirby, author of "The Chien d'Or," especially one on the romantic story of the Servos family, are worthy of attention. As to the gradual opening up of Ontario, the writings of Robert Gourlay,

John Galt, of Dr. Dunlop, the works of Mrs. Moodie, Major Strickland's "Twenty-seven Years in Canada West," and a long list of works of travel from the days of Henry, Carver and Long to the present, with works purely or mainly statistical, like Bouchette's "British Dominions in North America," and Smith's "Canada: Past, Present and Future," may be consulted with advantage. A work of a most satisfying character from this point of view is the Report of the Ontario Agricultural Commission, issued by the Government in 1881. As to scope and general features, it was foreshadowed by the "Etude sur la Colonisation du Bas Canada," compiled by Mr. Stanislas Drapeau, and published at Quebec in 1863.

Reference has been made here and there to the aid which the historical student may gain from well-written biographies of eminent and representative persons. I have already mentioned some such works in connection with the French *régime*. Many of the sources of our history, in the form of memoirs and letters, are virtually autobiographical. The lives of rulers such as De Maisonneuve, Frontenac, Elgin; of soldiers, like Montcalm, Wolfe, Brant, Brock; of statemen, like Papineau, Hincks ("Reminiscences"), Brown, Lafontaine, Cartier; of public spirited business men like Hon. W. H. Merritt; of churchmen who played a prominent part in the life of their time like Bishop Strachan, or of great educationists like Dr. Ryerson, shed many sidelights on the scenes, characters and events with which they have been associated.* Morgans "Celebrated Canadians," Dent's "Canadian Portrait Gallery," Fennings Taylor's 'Portraits of British Americans" (with illustrations by Notman), G McLean Rose's "Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography." "The Irishman in Canada," by Mr. N. F. Davin, M.P., and "The Scot in British North America," by

* In this connection, works like the Rev. Dr. Campbell's "History of St. Gabriel's Church, Montreal," and the Rev. Dr. Hill's "History of St. Paul's Church, Halifax," are worthy of mention.

the late W. J. Rattray, may be mentioned among works of general biography.

The history hidden away in pamphlets might form the subject of a long article. For information on the progress of industry, commerce, banking, the development of canals, railroads and steam navigation, on the advance of education* and the evolution of the system now in vogue, on the intellectual movement as indicated by our progress in literature, science and art, on the application of scientific methods for the development of our vast and varied resources, we must look in many directions.

JOHN READE.

Notes.

[*Communicated by* MR. J. P. EDWARDS, *Secy.-Treas. Soc. for Hist. Studies, Montreal.*]

1.

A notice of a curious addition to early Canadian journalism came recently under the writer's notice; it was quoted as "the first number of a rude Backwoods Newspaper, issued at Miramichi, N.B., in 1825." It is 8vo. in size, and of four pages. The editor finds that he has only type to print two and three-quarter pages, and apologises to his subscribers, bidding them wait and see what he can do in October. He dates his letter May. This sheet is a literary curiosity.

2.

The subject of the expulsion of the Acadians has attracted so much attention from the students of the history of the Eastern Provinces, that many other interesting events in that section in the last century have not received the attention that they deserve, except from local writers. The settlement and early history of Halifax—the large German immigration into Nova Scotia—the lingering struggle between France and England along the New Brunswick

coast, and, above all, the infusion of new life into all the sea-bound provinces by the influx of the Loyalists at the close of the American rebellion, would repay more careful investigation. The Nova Scotia Historical Society has done a great work by the publication of a number of most interesting papers bearing on local and provincial history; and several country papers have, during the past few years, been bringing to light a number of invaluable details of the settlement, etc., of their localities.

3.

It is interesting to note that while Nova Scotia has a population but one-third of that of Quebec and one-fourth of Ontario, provincial and county history has proportionately there received much greater attention. Haliburton and Campbell have each produced admirable accounts of the history of the province; while no one in Ontario or Quebec has marshalled into line such an army of facts as Murdock in his three-volume history, published in Halifax in 1865-67. In county histories, at least five have been issued in book form, viz.: Pictou, Yarmouth, Queen's, Lunenburg and Colchester (the latter mainly a geneological summary); while special attention has of late been given by King's College, Windsor, to complete the series.

4.

There is in this city a copy of one of the first books printed in what is now British North America; it is entitled "An Act for the Relief of Debtors, with Respect to the Imprisonment of their Persons; enacted at a Council holden at Halifax on Wednesday, the 6th of December, 1752."

Halifax: Printed by J. Bushnell, Printer to the Government, 1752.

The printing is very fairly done; the stamp of the Royal Arms (more intricate than at present) at the head is clear and distinct, and the initial letter is quite an uncommon piece of work. The get-up is altogether much ahead of the

collected edition of the Provincial Statutes printed by John Howe & Son in 1805 *et seq.*

[*By the Editor.*] *PRICES CURRENT IN* 1800.

"QUEBEC, 5th March, 1800.

"LOVING HUSBAND,—This goes to let you know that we are all in good health at present, hoping these few lines will find you and all your sailors the same. I received a letter from you with a bill of £25 by Captain Duhamel's mate, and likewise another by the mail dated the 13th January. Your old acquaintance, Mr. Abbott, died a month ago, and Mrs. Abbott received a letter from Mr. Patterson. * * * You desired me in your last to let you know the price of molasses, sugar and coffie. I have enquired and found that the price of molasses is from four to five shillings per gallon, sugar from four to five pound per cwt., coffie from two to two and sixpence by the cask. There is a great quantity of molasses here at present; sugar and coffie is scarce. Our markets are very poor and dear this winter: beef is threepence halfpenny and fourpence per lb., mutton fourpence and fourpence halfenny, butter eleven, twelve and thirteenpence, market flour is twenty and two-and-twenty livres per quintal. You may tell Barnie * * * . I'll look for you in the spring.

"I remain,

"Your True and Loving Wife while

"*** ******."

This letter was folded in the old style, sealed and directed to "Cap'n *** ******.

"To the care of Mr. John Brown, Merch't,

"Halifax."

The postmark is "Quebec, mars 1800."

In connection with the Kingsford-Gagnon controversy, the following title page has been sent to me. It is well known that a number of books had been published in Que-

bec and Montreal before there was any printing press set up in Upper Canada. It must not be forgotten, however, that many books with Canadian imprints were actually printed in Europe:—An Abstract of the History of the Old and New Testaments, divided into three parts. Part I. From the Creation to the Birth of Christ. II. The Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Part III. The Acts of the Apostles, and the Establishment of the Church throughout the World. By the Venerable and Right Rev. Richard Challoner, D.D., Bishop of Debra, and V. A. First Montreal, from the sixth London Edition. Montreal: Printed by James Lane, 29, Saint Paul Street. 1828.

Societies.

Society for Historical Studies, Montreal.—The society met in the Fraser Institute on the 30th January, when Mr. R. C. Smith read a paper on "Early Legislative Proceedings in Canada." On the 13th Febuuary, Mr. W. W. L. Chipman read a paper on "Sir James Kempt." Both the meetings were well attended, and the carefully prepared papers much appreciated.

Queries and Replies.

The *Place d' Armes* of Ville Marie was at and near Point-a-Callé-res, within the fort traced out by Champlain forty years before.

In Rousseau's "Maisonneuve," c. iv., p. 42:—The battle ground against the inroad of the Iroquois was the old *Place d' Armes*. The ground of the old fort at the Point, spreading a little outside toward the present custom house, the old market place in front of the fort, was the scene of the fight. The Indians came along the sled road eight to ten feet wide, leading from the old fort and abutting at the new buildings of the Hôtel-Dieu (foot of St. Paul and St. Sulpice streets). There the dogs, chiefly the faithful "Pilote," scented them, and as the savages reached the market place—the called the Place d'Armes—the memorable engagement took place.

See Rousseau, c. xx., p. 71:—

Through the actual *Place d'Armes* passed a "blaized" trail, amid a tufted wood and leading to the present site of the Twin Towers of the Seminary gate, yet standing in Sherbrooke street, where Maisonneuve planted his gigantic cross, in fulfilment of a vow for the lowering of a spring flood of the St. Lawrence, that had well swamped the young colony. J. T. L.

In this connection the maps in "Le Vieux Montreal" may be consulted with advantage.—Ed.

E. W. asks the origin of the name "Blue Bonnets," the suburb of Montreal, with a well-known race course and level crossing."—*Canadiana, Feb.*

Blue Bonnets takes its name from a roadside inn kept half a century ago by a retired soldier of one of the Scottish Regments that had been on duty in Canada. The name was selected in honor of the blue bonnets that form the traditional head covering in his native land. It was, in the old stage coach days, a much stopped at resort. But the railroads destroyed the stage coaches; and Time carried off the patriotic veteran, and swept away his well-known hostelry, leaving the name, applied to the locality, to puzzle strangers with its inappropriateness. This was the result of my enquiries on the subject some years ago.—K.

J. H., Montreal, asks:—Has there been, within the last fifty years, a Canadian authoress or poetess named Ann Cuthbert Knight?

Publications Received.

Report on Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, Archivist, 1888. (Being appendix to Report of the Minister of Agriculture), Ottawa:—Printed for the Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery. A Senécal, Superintendent of Printing, 1889. More than usually interesting. Mr. Brymner's notes, treat of The Walker Outrage, 1764; General Murray's Recall; The French Noblesse in Canada after 1760; Pierre du Calvet; The North-West Trade. The Calendar of the Haldimand Collection is continued.

Johnson's Alphabet of First Things in Canada by George Johnson, Ottawa:—Printed by Mortimer & Co., 1889. A neat little memorandum book, full of useful and interesting facts about Canada.

Johnston's Graphic Statistics. This book which appeared in 1887 is the result of much patient ingenuity. It is an effort "to collect statistics suggestive of the changes, and illustrative of the development in Canada during the period of Confederation." The motive of the work is in the motto "Things seen are mightier than things heard."

The Dalhousie Gazette for Jan. 31, 1889. This is a well written periodical, of which ten numbers are issued every winter by the students of Dalhousie College and University.

The Cosmopolitan, an illustrated monthly magazine, Jan. 1889. Publisher: John Brisben Walker, 363 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price $2.40 per year. This bright and enterprising magazine has just come under the management of its present proprietor, and amongst its varied and attractive announcements for the coming year is the following:—"Growing Centres of Canada and the West, by Ernest Ingersoll. This well-known traveller has accepted a permanent position upon the editorial staff of The Cosmopolitan, and will spend the year 1889 roaming the West, Canada, and other parts of the world in search of new material for The Cosmopolitan."

Historical Sketch of Christian Science Mind-Healing, by Mary Baker G. Eddy, President of Massachusetts Metaphysical College. Second edition revised, Boston, 285 Commonwealth Avenue. Published by the author, 1889.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. I. APRIL, 1889. No. 4.

THE BATTLE OF STONY CREEK.

[6TH JUNE, 1813.]

The story of this remarkable action has been told with more or less fullness by various historians of the War of 1812. Its importance, however, can scarcely be overrated. Indeed, a careful military critic, General John Watts de Peyster, of New York, says in one of his works, that he "regards the encounter of Colonel Sir John Harvey at Stony Creek, on the night of the 5th of June, 1813, as the most decisive engagement of the whole War of 1812-15." That affairs on the Niagara frontier were in a most critical state for Canada at that date, does not admit of a doubt. Our own historians do not attempt to conceal how serious it was and give fairly accurate accounts of affairs, but it would be an amusing task to compare the following documents (copied from the originals), with Lossing's account of this important engagement in his "Field Book of the

War of 1812" (pp 604, 605). It is worth while quoting one part of the account: "Meanwhile," says Lossing, "General Vincent, the British commander, had been thrown from his horse in the darkness, and being unable to find either his animal or his troops, had wandered off in the woods. His friends supposed him to be killed or a prisoner. The command devolved upon Col. Harvey, who finding it impossible to drive the Americans from their position, collected his scattered forces as quickly as possible, and while it was yet dark hastened back towards Burlington Heights with his notable prisoners.

. . . During the ensuing day (that is the 7th), Vincent was found by his friends in the woods, four miles from the place of conflict, without hat or sword, and almost famished. His horse and accoutrements had fallen into the hands of the Americans."

It is unnecessary to comment on such statements. The whole of the account is much of a piece with this specimen. The General who was picked up in the woods on the 7th, and not reported among the missing, had actually written an official report on the 6th, dated at Burlington Heights, to which he had returned in company with his victorious troops; and so far from the command devolving on Harvey by accident, it had in the noblest manner been given to him by Vincent, so that he might have full credit for the plan of operations.

But the documents may be allowed to speak for themselves.

DOUGLAS BRYMNER.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN VINCENT TO COLONEL BAYNES.

BAIZLEY'S, 4th June, 1813.

DEAR COLONEL:—

I have made no change in my intention since I wrote last. The enemy are advancing, but not so rapid or in

such force as I expected. They have taken post at the 40 mile creek, and I just understand that their strength at that post consists of one hundred dragoons and two thousand men. I have likewise reason to suppose that men will be embarked at the Fort of Niagara to attack me in front on the Lake side, but still if they do not come on me in an overwhelming force, I do not think they will find it an easy matter again to make me quit my post. If I am reduced to the necessity of retiring to Kingston.* I am afraid it will be adding to Brig.-Gen. Proctor's misery in sending him the remaining companies of the 41st, the Newfoundland, and part of the Glengarry, according to the instructions I received this day by Captain McDonell, as I am too much afraid he is at this present moment in great distress for provisions, and unfortunately the Queen Charlotte was only able to take thirty barrels of pork from Point Abino. I am doing everything I possibly can to assist him. Six militia officers, all active and picked men, are sent forward to purchase and drive all the cattle they can find from this to Sandwich. I have been able to procure, to assist this service, from Col. Clark, five hundred guineas which I hope will remove all difficulties with those farmers who will not take paper money.

Captain Milnes will, I suspect, be the bearer of this. I am sorry to part with him, as I find him not only of the greatest service to myself, but as active an officer in the field as any under my command. He is perfectly able to explain our situation and what can be expected from us. I am so hurried with other matters that I have requested Col. Harvey would write you on all the particulars of the post at this present moment, and believe me, dear Colonel,

Yours very obliged,

JOHN VINCENT.

* This sentence does not appear to be finished; it is given as in the original.

To Colonel Baynes, &c., &c., &c.

By a report I have just received from my outposts, an attack cannot be far distant. As circumstances are at present, I am determined if possible to be beforehand with them; I shall therefore detain Capt. Milnes until to-morrow.

J. V.

Canadian Archives, Series C., Vol. 679, *p.* 19).

Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, D.A.G., to Colonel Baynes.

Burlington Heights, Sunday, 6th June, 1813.

My Dear Colonel:—

The enemy having dared to pursue, as he arrogantly termed it, this division by moving a corps of 3,500 men with four field pieces and 150 cavalry to Stony Creek (within ten miles of this position), I strongly urged General Vincent to make a forward movement for the purpose of beating up his encampment. In the course of yesterday afternoon, our advanced post at Davis's (eight miles from hence towards Forty Mile Creek), consisting of the light company of the 49th Regt., was driven in. I instantly went out for the purpose of reconnoitring, and found the enemy had again withdrawn to his camp at Stony Creek. I therefore recommended to the General to move the five companies of the King's (say 280)* and the 49th regiment (say 424),* total 700* men, which was accordingly done, at half-past 11 o'clock. General Vincent accompanied these troops, the conduct and direction of which he was so good as to give to me. The troops moved in perfect order and profound silence, the light companies of the 49th and King's in front,

* Different figures were orginally written, but corrected in Harvey's own hand, as is evident from the ink, the similarity of the figures to others occurring in the same letter, &c.

the 49th regiment in the centre, and the King's as a reserve. In conformity with directions I had given, the sentries at the outskirts of the enemy's camp were bayonetted in the quietest manner, and the camp immediately stormed. The surprise was tolerably complete, but our troops incautiously advancing and charging across the line of camp fires and a few muskets being fired, notwithstanding my exertions to check it, our line was distinctly seen by the enemy, whose troops in some degree recovered from their panic, and formed upon the surrounding heights, poured a destructive fire of musketry upon us, which we answered on our part by repeated charges, whenever a body of the enemy could be discerned or reached. The King's regiment and part of the 49th charged and carried the four field pieces in very gallant style, and the whole sustained with undaunted firmness the heavy fire which was occasionally poured upon them.

In less than three-quarters of an hour the enemy had completely abandoned his guns and every thing else to us. Our loss has been severe, but that of the enemy much more so. Our trophies, besides the three guns and howitzer (two of the guns, by the bye, were spiked by us and left on the ground for want of means of removing), are two brigadier generals, one field officer, three captains, one lieutenant, and about 100 men, prisoners.

General Vincent, being too much hurried and fatigued to write to-day, has desired me to forward to you with this letter the returns of killed and wounded, as well as those of the prisoners and ordnance, etc., taken. The Brigadier General's dispatch will be forwarded to-morrow. In the meantime, he desires me to congratulate His Excellency on the complete and brilliant success of this enterprise, and on the beneficial results with which it has already been attended. Information has just been received that the enemy has entirely abandoned his camp, burnt his tents, destroyed his provisions, ammunition, etc., and retired precipitately

towards the Forty-mile Creek. Our advanced posts occupy the ground on which his camp stood.

I am, my dear Colonel.

Very faithfully,

J. HARVEY,

Lt.-Col., D.A.G.

P.S.—This is sent by Capt. Milnes, who proceeds with Brigadier Generals Chandler and Winder, and who, from having been present both in the action of this day and that of the 27th ultimo, and all the intermediate operations, is perfectly qualified to give His Excellency every satisfactory information on these subjects.—J. H.

The circumstances in which I write will, I hope, excuse this hasty and inaccurate scrawl, of which, moreover, I have no copy.

(*Archives, Series C, Vol.* 679, *p.* 38.)

BRIGADIER GENERAL VINCENT TO SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

BURLINGTON HEIGHTS,

Head of Lake Ontario,

6th June, 1813.

SIR,—Having yesterday received information of the enemy having advanced from the Forty-mile Creek with a force consisting of 3500 men, eight or nine field-pieces and 250 cavalry, for the avowed purpose of attacking the division under my command in this position, and having soon afterwards received a report that he had passed the swamp, and driven in my advanced posts from Stony Creek and Brady's, Lieut.-Col. Harvey, D.A.G., immediately went forward with the light companies of the King's and 49th regiments, and having advanced close to and accurately ascertained the enemy's position, sent back to propose to me a

night attack on his camp. The motives which induced Lieut.-Col. Harvey to make, and me to agree to, this proposal were these:—This position, though strong for a large body, is far too extensive for me to hope to make any successful stand against the superior force understood to be advancing against me in three separate points, viz.: by the lake, by the centre road, and by the mountain on my right. The attack, I knew, would not be delayed; I had neither time or inclination precipitately to retreat from my position. I therefore embraced the proposition of Lieut.-Col. Harvey as an alternative not only more worthy of the gallant troops under my command, but as offering the best chance of crippling the enemy and disconcerting all his plans, as well as gaining time for retreat should that measure still be found necessary.

The enemy's camp was distant about seven miles; about half-past 11 I moved forward with the five companies of the 8th King's and the 49th Regt., amounting together to only 704 fire-locks. Lt.-Col. Harvey, who conducted it with great regularity and judgment, gallantly led on the attack. The enemy was completely surprised and driven from his camp, after having repeatedly formed in different bodies, and been as often charged by our brave troops, whose conduct throughout this brilliant enterprize was above all praise. The action terminated before daylight, when three guns, with one brass howitzer, with their tumbrils, two Brig.-Gens. Chandler and Winder, first and second in command, and upwards of 100 officers, non-commissioned officers and privates remained in our hands.

Not conceiving it prudent to expose our small force to the view of the enemy, who, though routed and dispersed was still formidable as to numbers and position, he having fled to the surrounding heights, and having still four or five guns, the troops were put in motion at daybreak and marched back to the cantonments. After we had retired and it had become broad day, the enemy ventured to re-

occupy his camp, only, however, for the purpose of destroying his incumbrances, such as blankets, carriages, provisions, spare arms, ammunition, &c,, after which he commenced a precipitate retreat towards the 40 Mile Creek, where he effected a junction with a body of 2000 men on their march from Niagara to reinforce him. I cannot conclude this dispatch without calling your Excellency's attention to the following officers.

To Lt.-Col. Harvey, the Dept. Adjt. Genl., my obligations are particularly due; from the first moment the enemy's approach was known, he watched his movements and afforded me the earliest information; to him indeed I am indebted for the suggestion and plan of operations. Nothing could be more clear than his arrangements, nor more completely successful in the result. The conduct of Major Plenderleath, who commanded the 49th Regt., was very conspicuous; by his decision and prompt efforts the surprise of the enemy's camp was complete, and all his efforts to make a stand were rendered ineffectual by the bayonet, which overthrew all opposition. A party of the 49th, with Major Plenderleath at their head, gallantly charged some of the enemy's field pieces and brought off two six-pounders. Major Ogilvie led on in the most gallant manner the five companies of the King's Regt., and whilst one half of that highly disciplined and distinguished corps supported the 49th Regt., the other part moved to the right and attacked the enemy's left flank, which decided our midnight contest. I have also received the greatest assistance from Major Glegg, Brig. Maj. to the forces, and beg leave to mention the names of Capts. McDouall and Milnes, your Excellency's Aides-de-Camp, who accompanied me in the attack, and upon all occasions have volunteered their services. I have likewise to acknowledge the assistance of Capt. Chambers, of the 41st Regt., who had arrived four days before from Amherstburg, and Mr. Brock, P.M. 49th, who assisted me as acting aide-de-camp.

To Mr. Hackett, acting Staff Surgeon to this army, I feel myself particularly indebted for his judicious arrangement by which the wounded have received every attention, and are, most of them, likely to be restored to the service.

It would be an act of injustice, were I to omit assuring your Excellency, that gallantry and discipline were never more conspicuous than during our late short service, and I feel the greatest satisfaction in assuring you that every officer and individual seemed anxious to rival each other in his efforts to support the honour of His Majesty's arms and to maintain the high character of British troops.

On leaving this position to march against the enemy, it was immediately occupied by Lt.-Col. Bisshopp, with detachments of the 41st Regt., Glengarry and Newfoundland, and militia and the artillery under Major Holcroft, who were in a situation to move towards my support, or to either flank, as circumstances might require.

I directed Capt. Fowler, the Dept. A.Q.M.G., to remain in the rear, with a view of reconnoitring the country, collecting the resources and keeping open the communication.

I am happy to assure your Excellency that had any extreme case happened, I felt the fullest confidence in the zeal and exertions of those officers for making the most judicious arrangements.

I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the enclosed reports for particulars respecting our loss, which I regret to say has been very severe.

I have the honour, &c.,

JOHN VINCENT,

Brig.-Gen.

Archives C, Vol. 679, *p.* 27.

GENERAL RETURN of Killed, Wounded and Missing in action with the enemy, near the head of Lake Ontario, 6th June, 1813.

TROOPS.	KILLED.			WOUNDED.									MISSING.	
	Lieutenants.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutant.	Fort Major.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.
Staff	..	.	..	.	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Eighth or King's Regiment.....	1	2	7	1	2	2	..	..	..	4	..	51	..	13
49th Regiment..	..	1	12	1	3	..	1	1	..	5	2	62	3	39
Total	1	3	19	2	5	2	1	1	1	9	2	113	3	52

Staff:—Fort Major Taylor, severely.

8th or King's Regiment.
- Lieut Hooker, killed.
- Major Ogilvie, severely, not dangerously
- Capt. Munday, " " "
- Goldrisk, slightly.
- Lieut. Weyland, "
- Boyd, "

49th Regiment.
- Major Plenderleath, severely, not dangerously.
- Brevet-Major Clarke, dangerously.
- Dennis, slightly.
- Capt. Manners, "
- Ensign Drury, dangerously.
- Adjt. Stean, slightly.

J. HARVEY, *D. A. Gen.*

EDWD. BAYNES, *Adj.-Gen. N. A.*

Return of American prisoners of war, captured near Stony Creek in the action of the 6th June.

BURLINGTON HEIGHTS, 7th June, 1813.

2 Brigadier Generals.
1 Major.
5 Captains.
1 Lieutenant.
116 Non-commissioned officers and privates.

J. HARVEY, *Dep. Adj.-Gen.*

EDWD. BAYNES, *Adj.-Gen. N. A.*

Return of Ordnance, &c., &c., captured from the Americans by a division of the troops under the command of Brig.-Gen. Vincent, in action on the 6th June, 1813, at the head of Lake Ontario :—

Ordnance	6 pounders, iron	3
	5½ in. howitzer, brass	1
Carriages	Limber 6 pounder	1
	Tumbril with 6 pounder ammunition complete	1
Harness	Thill sets	4
	Trace "	4
	Horses, Artillery	9

WM. HOLCROFT, Maj.,
Com'g Royal Artillery.

N.B.—Two of the above 6 pounders were spiked and left on the ground in consequence of the impossibility of removing them.

INDIANS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

The following list of the Indian warriors who joined the British cause, is said to be the most correct which has ever been published. It was drawn up in the year 1812, and includes all the tribes who bore arms in the war, or who were friendly to the British, with the exception of the Sioux and Chipewas. The former did not exceed 300 fighting men at the time, although a tribe renowned for bravery; and the latter, who occupied the south and west side of Lake Superior, sent but very few to the war, but were not unfriendly:

CLASS I.—THE WESTERN INDIANS.

The Wyandots, or Hurons	450	warriors.
" Ottawas and Chipewas	350	"
" Miamies	180	"
" Peons	180	"
" Shawanous, or Shawanise (this was Tecumseh's tribe)	550	"
" Shawanous, or Shawanise (west of the Mississippi)	500	"
" Potawatimies	2000	"
" Kickapoos and Muskoutans	450	"
" The Ottawas on Grand River, and the other rivers which fall into Lake Michigan	550	"
" Chipewas who reside about Michilimackinac	400	"
" Follawines of Green Bay	500	"
" Winebagoes	700	"
" Soakies, on the east side of the Mississippi	750	"
" Misquakies, or Fox Indians	450	"
" Chipewas and Ottawas of Sagina (Saugeen) Bay, on Lake Huron	600	"

These constitute the whole of the fighting men of the two great western nations of Indians as they stood in 1812, amounting in all to 8610 warriors.

This force, estimated by their numbers, would deservedly be held of little consequence if brought against disciplined troops in an open country, but when it is recollected that they occupied a territory of immense extent lying upon the frontier of the United States, and that frontier is formed of a dense forest, and being unfortified was liable to irruptions in a desultory mode of warfare such as the Indians carry on

at all points, it became a matter of consequence for a power at war with the United States to be on good terms with these Indians.

There was a strong antipathy existing between the people of the United States (particularly the backwoodsmen) and the Indians, so that as the settlements of the former advanced, the latter receded from them, and avoided them as much as possible. It was the operation of this feeling which induced the Indians to become the allies of Great Britain during the war, as they thought with the aid of the British arms to be able to drive the Americans (those evil spirits, as they termed them,) out of their grounds.*

CLASS II.—THE INDIANS OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.

The Mohawks, residing about Lake Erie.....	400	warriors.
" Mohawks, residing on the Bay of Quinte.....	50	"
" The Mississakies, about York and on Lake Ontario	150	"
" Chipewas, about Lake Simcoe.....	70	"
" Iroquois, of St. Regis (during the war they were divided, and part of them were with the Americans)	250	"
" Iroquois, of Cocnawaga (*sic*)	270	"
" Iroquois, of the Lake of Two Mountains.....	150	"
" Nipisanges, or Algonquins, at the Lake of Two Mountains	100	"
" Abenequois, from Lorette.....	100	"
" Algonquins, who reside about Three Rivers...	50	"

These in all amounting to 1590, added to the 8610 warriors of the western nations, made the whole Indian force up to 10,200 men.

HENRY MOTT.

* This idea operated strongly on Tecumseh's mind. It is said he had formed the plan of uniting all the Indians of the southern districts as far as Florida, and those of the west and the north together, with the design of making an attack on the United States, simultaneously with the British who were to attack them from the coast, while Canada was to press them from the north. This was a plan, however impracticable, which could only be the offspring of a strong and comprehensive mind. The feelings of the Indians towards the soldiers of the United States were manifested in the different engagements in which they acted with the British troops, as frequently, after the battle, the English officers and men had the utmost difficulty in preventing them from scalping the prisoners.

VISIT OF INDIAN CHIEFS TO ENGLAND.

WINDSOR, England, April 9th, 1825.

"The interesting Canadian chiefs, accompanied by Sir John Chapman and Mr. Irving Brock (brother of the late Sir Isaac Brock, who fell in Canada during the last war), proceeded on Thursday by invitation to the Royal Lodge, and were introduced to His Majesty on the lawn. Immediately on seeing the King, they fell on their knees, when the medallion of the late King, with which they had been invested by Sir Isaac Brock, attracted His Majesty's attention, who [observing to them that as they had the portrait of his late father, perhaps they would have no objection to wearing his,] hung a handsome gold medallion round their necks, which they kissed with the utmost fervour.

The Grand Chief then addressed His Majesty in French, and after replying in the same language, His Majesty conversed with them in the most affable manner for about a quarter of an hour.

After seeing the interior of the Royal Lodge, the stables, the animals, and the birds, Sir Andrew Barnard conducted them to Cumberland Lodge, where a table, provided with refreshments, was prepared for them. In the evening they left Windsor for London, expressing their gratitude at having seen 'their Great Father, King George,' and the manner in which they had been received. Besides the medallions hung round their necks, His Majesty presented each of them with a print from his full length portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

It is understood that the business which brought them to this country was to recover possession of some lands that had been taken from them during the American War, and that a promise has been given them that, in case the same lands cannot be restored to them, they are to have a grant of another tract of land." HENRY MOTT.

[The subsequent history of these medallions and portraits would be of interest.—ED.]

Queries and Replies.

What was the first monument, of any kind, erected, and the date, or anything marking the spot where Wolfe died on the Plains of Abraham, Quebec?

What are considered the five oldest buildings, irrespective of the old round towers on Sherbrooke street, standing to-day in Montreal, with date of erection?

A man-of-war (the "St. Lawrence," 102 guns) is shown in an engraving on a corner of one of Bouchette's large maps of Lower Canada, 1815. Can any of your readers tell us anything about this vessel?

Where can I find, and what do you consider, the best small engraved or other portrait of Gen. Montcalm? J. H.

The Place d'Armes.—On 18th August, 1717, Chaussegros de Lery, Engineer-in-Chief of New France, forwarded to France a lengthy report as to the advantages offered by Montreal for the purposes of fortifications. In this report he said:—

> "I have marked a Place d'Armes in front of the Parish Church, where might be made afterwards a number of barracks, the houses which are in that place being of small value. The enclosure is marked upon the ground conformably to the plan," etc., etc.

During the same year DeLery commenced the work, but from lack of funds it was discontinued. Up to 1721 no further progress was made, but in that year the work was fairly entered upon, and DeLery superintended it. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the name *Place d'Armes* was given by DeLery long before the occupation of the town by the American troops. Moreover, it would be very unlikely that Gen. Montgomery would give it the French name. H. M.

Publications Received.

An Address delivered before the Historical Society of New Brunswick in the City of St. John, Dominion of Canada, 4th July, 1883, by Gen. John Watts de Peyster, LL.D., A.M., Brev. Maj.-Gen., S.N.Y., Honorary Member N.B.H.S. New York: Chas. H. Ludwig, 10 and 12 Reade street. 1883.—I am indebted to Mr. J. W. Lawrence, of St. John, for this pamphlet.

Mr. Charles N. Bell, F.R.G.S., the President of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, sends the following valuable publications of papers from his pen:—

1. *Henry's Journal*, covering adventures and experiences in the Fur Trade on the Red River, 1799–1801, a paper read before the Society 4th May, 1888, and published as Transaction No. 31; season 1887–8.
2. *The Selkirk Settlement and the Settlers:* A Concise History of the Red River Country from its Discovery, including Information extracted from Original Documents Lately Discovered and Notes Obtained from Selkirk Settlement Colonists. 1887.
3. *Some Red River Settlement History:* A paper read befere the Society 29th April, 1887, aud being Transaction No. 29; season 1886–7.
4. *Our Northern Waters:* A Report presented to the Winnipeg Board of Trade regarding the Hudson's Bay and Strait, being a Statement of their Resources in Minerals, Fisheries, Timber, Furs, Game, and other products. Also, Notes on the Navigation of these Waters, together with Historical Events and Meteorological and Climatic Data.
5. *The Olden Time:* Winnipeg a Hundred Years Ago The Early History of the Red River.
6. *Old-Time Milling:* The History of Milling in the Red River Valley. (From "North-West Miller.")

The titles alone suffice to indicate the character of these papers and Mr. Bell's name is an assurance of their value.

THE MAGAZINE OF POETRY.—A Quarterly Review; Illustrated. Vol. I., No. 1. January, 1889. Charles Wells Moulton, Buffalo, N.Y. A magazine devoted entirely to poets is a novelty, and when made so attractive as this one, is likely to prove a welcome addition to periodical literature. The Canadians who appear in the first number are Miss Morgan (Gowan Lea) and Prof. Chas. G. D. Roberts. An introductory note to the selections from Miss Morgan's poems by Dr. J. Clark Murray, of Montreal, and a similar introduction to Prof. Roberts by Mr. Bliss Carmen, are of interest. The price of this magazine is $2 per annum.

ANNUAL SUPPLEMENT to the Catalogue of the Library of Paliament, in alphabetical and subject order, containing all books and pamphlets added to the Library from Feb. 10th, 1888, to January 10th, 1889.

THE ORIGIN AND SECRETS OF FREEMASONRY, being a lecture delivered by the Rev. Joseph Wild, D.D., Chaplain Doric Lodge, A.F. & A.M., Toronto, in Toronto, Ont., on Feb 22nd, 1889. Published by Yeigh & Co., office of the *Canadian Advance*, 10½ Adelaide St. East, Toronto.

CANADIANA

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. I. MAY, 1889. No. 5.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

Condensed from a paper read by Mr. W. W. L. Chipman, before the Society for Historical Studies, Montreal, 16th November, 1887.

Sir William Alexander, born about 1567, at Menstry, a village in the parish of Logie, Clackmannanshire. Son of Alexander Alexander and his wife, Marian, daughter o Allan Couttie. His sisters were Janet and Christian; he had no brothers. Family originally named MacAlexander, and, like the Argylls, claimed descent from the Viking Conn Chead Chath. His father died in 1580 and he went to live with his granduncle, who sent him to Stirling Grammar School at the age of thirteen. His personal appearance at the age of fifty-seven, as represented in a wood-cut by Marshall, resembled that of his contemporary Shakespeare. His forehead was high, his eyes large, his nose long and straight, and his well shaped head covered with a profusion of curly hair. He wore a moustache and well trimmed beard of medium length—the whole a pleasing and intelligent countenance set off by a huge Elizabethian ruff. He was educated at Stirling, and afterwards travelled with the Earl of Argyll, whose favorable mention of him to King James

led to his appointment as tutor to Prince Henry. He thus acquired an influence at Court which he maintained. His career extended over thirty-six years of Elizabeth's reign, all of James' reign and fifteen years into the reign of Charles I. The facts recorded of the first thirty years of his life are very meagre, which renders the painstaking researches of such men as Slafter and Rogers the more valuable. His leisure at this time appears to have been devoted to literature. In 1597 A. occupied the manor home and lands at Menstry and annually visited them in the autumn, even when his residence was a Covent Garden, London, whither he removed in 1603 on the accession of James to the English throne. At about this time he married the daughter of Sir William Erskine, by whom he had issue eight sons and three daughters.

He was attached to Prince Henry's household and received several lucrative marks of royal favor, and also the knighthood, which was conferred about this time. Upon the death of Prince Henry, in 1612, A. received a position in the household of Prince Charles and in 1614 was made Master of Requests to the King.

A.'s attention was shortly after this drawn to America and he obtained a surrender of the charter of the Plymouth Company, and on the the 10th September, 1621, a grant to himself of a tract including the present Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with the Counties of Rimouski, Gaspé and Bonaventure, in the Province of Quebec; the whole then called New Scotland, and by A. sub-divided into New Alexandria and New Caledonia. He was appointed hereditary lieutenant, with power to use the mines and forests, erect cities, hold courts, grant lands, coin money, etc. The consideration of this grant was one penny Scots, payable each Christmas Day.

A. next obtained the co-operation of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, to whom he gave the territory at Cape Breton, thenceforth to be known as the Barony of New

Galloway, which grant was confirmed by Royal charter on the 8th November, 1621. The following August, a small party of emigrants sailed for New Scotland, but was compelled, by stress of weather, to winter at St. Johns, Newfoundland. Nine months later, a second ship reached St. Johns with more emigrants and supplies, only to find the first ship's passengers discouraged and separated. A few of the newly arrived party sailed at the close of June to examine the coasts of New Scotland as far as Port Negro and to select their place of settlement. Returning to their fellow voyagers, after a short survey, they decided to re-embark for England.

The accounts which they gave to Sir William Alexander on their arrival seem to have inspired him to renewed efforts, though his two expeditions had involved him in a loss of six thousand pounds. Through his influence with King James, he procured a warrant upon the Scottish treasury for the re-imbursement of his loss, but from lack of resources, or other reasons, it was not responded to.

The next plan hit upon by Alexander to recoup himself for this loss, was to induce the King to create one hundred baronets, limited to sons of Scottish land-owners and younger sons of the nobility, who should purchase lands in the new colony. It was intended to divide each province of New Scotland into several dioceses, each diocese into three counties, each county into three baronies, and each barony into six parishes. The baronies were to reach three miles along the coast and ten miles inland, and the parish divisions were to contain six thousand acres each. On the 23rd of November, 1624, the Scottish Council adopted this plan, it being understood that each baronet was to be a baronet of some one or others of these baronies, and to have ten thousand acres of land besides the six thousand acres belonging to his barony. For all this had to be paid one thousand merkis Scottish money, and each baronet was to send out to the colony six men, armed, apparelled and provided for two years.

The proclamation, 30th November, 1624, provided that these provisions should be complied with under a penalty of two thousand merkis, equivalent to £110 8s. 4d sterling, or $537.29 which was regarded and accepted as a commutation price for the title which came direct from the Crown. Amongst the baronets thus created were Sir Robert Gordon, Earl Marischal, Alexander Strachan, Sir Duncan Campbell, Robert Innes, Sir John Wemyss, David Livingstone and Sir Robert Douglass. On the 12th July, 1625, a further charter was issued by King Charles respecting these titles and re-conveying the unsold lands to Alexander who had surrendered them to the Crown for the purposes of the Act. This proclamation also increased the number to one hundred and fifty.

A pamphlet entitled " Encouragement to Colonists," was published by Alexander in 1624, illustrated by a map. In 1626 Alexander was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland and secured the lands and barony of Menstry. He rapidly increased his influence in this position and acquired several perquisites, and in the spring of 1629 sent another expedition to New Scotland under command of Capt. David Kertch as Deputy Admiral, Sir William himself having been created Admiral of New Scotland by letters patent dated 3rd May, 1627. This expedition was intended to check the power of Cardinal Richelieu's French company of a hundred associates, and also to cope with the Spanish and French traders. Kertch captured eighteen French transports, with one hundred and thirty-three pieces of ordnance destined for the fortificatious of Port Royal and Quebec, a success which he followed up by the capture of Port Royal.

On the 2nd of February, 1628, Alexander obtained a further grant, including the Island of Anticosti, and all other islands in the Gulf between New Scotland and Newfoundland, and all the islands of the River of Canada up to its source, then thought to be the Gulf of California, together with fifty leagues (that is one hundred and fifty miles) on

either side of the river. The following spring (1628) fourteen new patents of baronetcy were issued, and the avails invested in further ships, and in May, Alexander's oldest son William, who had been created Knight Admiral of New Scotland, sailed with a fleet of four vessels with seventy-two colonists and a year's provisions. He arrived at Port Royal, but soon returned to England, eager to procure, as he did, a commission covering a charter for a company having the sole trading rights of the Gulf and River of Canada, to frustrate the intentions in the same direction, of certain English adventurers.

At this time, Sir William Alexander, the elder, found an adventurer without means in Lord Ochiltree, who provided by King Charles with the loan of five hundred pounds, joined Sir William Alexander, the younger, on his second expedition. In June 1629, Capt. Kertch reported from Port Royal that his colony was in an impoverished condition, and it was found that thirty of the colonists had died.

Special efforts were made at home to force reception of baronetcies, and the King plainly hinted that higher honours would ultimately await the acceptors, and that all holding heritable offices would find their promotion in danger if they did not help the colonial scheme. On the 23rd of April, 1629, a treaty of peace between France and England had been signed, and under this Lord Ochiltree and his settlers were dispossessed at Cape Breton, some being transported to France as prisoners. In this year, Sir William Alexander obtained the lands and barony of Tullibody. In the same year, Claude de la Tour, the former Governor of Port Royal, who had gone to England after his capture by Kertch in 1628, returned to New Scotland a faithful subject of England, with two ships of war. He had been created a Baronet of New Scotland, and had acquired by purchase from Sir William Alexander an immense tract of land extending from the sea inland, some thirty or forty miles. and reaching from the present Yarmouth to Lunenburgh,

comprising the present county of Shelburne and Queens and half of Lunenburg.*

Sir William Alexander's claims to New Scotland were now in danger by the counter claims of the French Government, through the persistent efforts of Cardinal Richelieu. Six baronies were however created in 1629, and thirteen in the following year. It is apparent, that notwithstanding the treaty of peace, England had not looked forward to restoring Port Royal or the territory of New Scotland, though she had intended to restore Quebec, which had been wrested from Champlain by Kertch after the treaty of peace had been signed.

Some anxiety seems to have been felt by the newly created baronets as to their possessions and titles in the colony, and Sir William Alexander was ordered to attend a meeting of the Scottish estates, at which he maintained the legality of the English claim to New Scotland and the greater part of Canada, basing his argument upon the priority of discovery, possession and the removal of the French from Port Royal. For services rendered at this time, he received the titles of Viscount Stirling and Lord Alexander of Tullibody, and was renominated Master of Requests for Scotland, at a salary of two hundred pounds, and in 1631 received further honours.

The colony at Port Royal still remained under command of his eldest son, Sir William Alexander, who returned to England in July 1631, when Port Royal was ceded to the French. Viscount Stirling, the Privy Council and the baronets vainly struggled to retain the territory, but its surrender was formally concluded under the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye on the 29th March, 1632. Viscount Stirling

* The statement of Haliburton that he acquired the whole of Nova Scotia except Port Royal is incorrect, as appears by La Tour's deed which was registered in 1659 at Suffolk Mass. Haliburton may have followed the statement of Sir John Scott of Scots Taroet to the effect that Sir William got a great sum of money from the King of France to quit his interest in Nova Scotia. He was at any rate aware of the random statement of Sir Thomas Urquhart that he disposed "totally to the French for a matter of five or six thousand pounds English money both the dominion and property of the whole country of that kingdom of Nova Scotia."

received a warrant of £10,000 in compensation for all claims in this connection, although no provision seems to have been made for the unfortunate baronets of New Scotland, of whom there appeared to have been 113 in all enrolled between 1625 and 1638.

Taking the number at 113, it would appear that as each paid two thousand Scotch merkis, * the amount raised in this way was £12,477.1.8 sterling, equivalent to $60,713.77 of our present money.

Viscount Stirling now turned his attention to matters nearer home, and secured the privilege of fishing on the west coast of Scotland for a company employing 200 vessels of various sizes.

On the 11th May, 1633, Sir William Alexander, the younger, received a Royal patent for thirty-one years with the sole trading rights of the gulf and river of Canada and adjoining regions, and on the 14th June, 1633, upon the occasion of King Charles' coronation at Holyrood, Viscount Stirling was advanced to the dignity of an Earl with the additional title of Viscount Canada.

On the 29th April, 1635, his son William, then styled Lord Alexander by courtesy, obtained from the Council of the New England Company, a patent of that part of the main land of New England from St. Croix, adjoining New Scotland along the sea coast of Pemaquid, and so up the river to the Kennebeck, and northwards to the river of Canada, to be called the County of Canada, also along the island to the west of Cape Cod, to be called the Isle of Sterling. This patent was subsequently surrendered, and grants made direct from the Crown in eight divisions along the sea coast of New England. In 1637, his second son Anthony died, and his eldest son William, died the following year (1638), on the 13th May.

In 1639 the influence of the Earl of Stirling was on the wane, although in this year he took the further title of

* A merkis or merk was thirteen shillings and fourpence Scot or one shilling and a penny and a third of a penny sterling.

Earl of Doven. His debts were now pressing heavily upon him, and had reached the sum of £32,680, and his estates were practically in the hands of his creditors.

On the 12th February, 1640, just two months prior to the assembly of the Short Parliament, when King Charles and his monopolies were the subject of attack, the Earl's death ensued at his residence in Covent Garden, London. The body was embalmed, placed in a leaden coffin, and conveyed to Stirling, where it is said to have remained in the family vault undisturbed for a period of one hundred years.

The Earl had four successors in the earldom, the last of whom (Henry, the fifth earl) died without issue on the 4th of December, 1739. A claimant for the earldom appeared in 1759, in the person of William Alexander, of New Jersey, U.S., afterwards a Major-General in the American Revolutionary army. He assumed the title, but his pretensions were not allowed; yet, his countrymen continued to extend to him the title of Lord Stirling. On the 25th July, 1887, the decease occurred, at the age of 100 years, eight months and twenty days, of a grand-daughter of the American claimant, a Mrs. J. Witherspoon Smith, in her day one of the most brilliant and beautiful women in New Orleans. Her mother, the daughter of the so-called Lord Stirling, was styled Lady Catherine Duer.

The title to the earldom remained dormant until legal proceedings were taken by Alexander Humphreys in 1826, following a petition which he had made in 1815, claiming descent, through his mother, from the fourth earl. He pressed his claim until 1839, when he was indicted for forgery of certain documents, and his was one of the most noted of State trials. The documents were declared forged, and though the forgery was not brought home to Humphreys, his claims to the title were defeated. He had gone so far in 1838 as to forward to Lord Melbourne a solemn protest as hereditary Lieutenant to Her Majesty in these parts against the appointment of the Earl of Durham as Governor-General of the colony.

As a poet, Earl Stirling justly won the praises of several noted poets of his own day, but only to pass into oblivion. Writers upon English literature entirely ignore him, while remembering those who have praised his poetry. In his writings he sought to persuade the heart. In his "Doomsday" poem he invoked, in the very outset, a Divine blessing upon his effort. When we think how strangely disturbed the times were in which he lived, and how unfavourable to the purer kind of literary production; when we remember how great the enterprise needed to plant a colony single-handed, we must accord him no small meed of praise. Behind all the unworthy expedients which his public undertakings led him to adopt, we see those better moments which bespeak the poet and the gentleman. We can forgive the weaknesses and the spirit of avarice which seconded the spirit of adventure, and restore Sir William Alexander to an honourable place in the annals of both the old and the new world.

For in his own words:—

> "This is the grief which bursts a generous heart,
> When favour comes by chance, not by desart."

And again:—

> "We want all that did advance our name,
> For in a corner of the world obscure,
> We rest ungraced without the bounds of fame."

Notes.

[*Communicated by* Mr. John Reade.]

One of the ablest and most active of the French Intendants of the Old Regime was M. Hocquart. Not only did he endeavour to develop the resources of the colony, but he was also the author of some clear, comprehensive and vigorous reports on the state of Canada during his administration. To a memoir not unreasonably attributed to his pen we are

indebted for a most interesting and valuable account of the people of Canada—comprising the noblesse, the mercantile community and *habitans*—in the period that preceded the outbreak of the final struggle between France and England. To him may also be ascribed the first attempt made in Canada in the direction of scientific and experimental farming. He had tests in the cultivation of tobacco and other plants conducted on his own property at Chambly, at Beauport and in the grounds adjoining the Intendant's Palace. Under his auspices, moreover, was undertaken what may be designated the first Colonial Exhibition held in Europe. For, in order to disseminate needed knowledge concerning Canada, he had a selection of the leading native products—plants, grains, fruits, woods, minerals, furs, etc., —carefully made and sent to the mother country. It was at his suggestion that the Forsters, father and son, were ordered by the King to inspect the mines of Canada, and the working of the St. Maurice Forges was also of his conception. Dr. Sarrasin, Dr. La Croix, Father Gosselin and other men of scientific tastes, found in Mr. Hocquart an ardent sympathizer and fellow-worker. The memory of such a man should be held in honor in a land of which he was one of the first to discern the real importance, and in his efforts to develop whose resourses he anticipated some of the movements which we deem especially characteristic of our own time.

What was the motive which induced the British authorities to establish, and maintain for nearly sixty years, a Lieutenant-Governorship in Gaspé? Dr. N. E. Dionne, in a little volume of *Etudes Historiques*, which I have already had occasion to mention in *Canadiana*, ascribes that policy to the necessity of making all possible provision for the loyalist refugees. Not only was a vast tract placed at their disposal in Upper Canada, not only were they welcomed to

New Brunswick, but a region large enough to constitute no inconsiderable province, was set apart for them in Gaspé and Bonaventure. If that be the explanation, no time was lost in preparing for the coming emergency, as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspé, Nicholas Cox, received his nomination as early as 1774. It was not until 1780, however, that he betook himself to the scene of his administration. In 1784 he was awarded a pension, and in 1794 his death was announced in the Quebec *Gazette*. In the obituary notice, he is also named "Superintendent of the Labrador Fisheries." Captain Cox was a brave officer, who had fought at Louisbourg and at Quebec, and his governorship was meant to be the reward of his services. His successors were Francis Le Maistre, who died in 1805, and Alexander Forbes, who survived the abolition of the office. Christie (Vol. II. p. 347) mentions an address (the first of several such remonstrances) to the Governor-General, on a number of anomalies of administration of which one was the payment of a salary to Mr. Forbes. Nevertheless, Mr. Forbes continued to be paid it down to the year 1831, if not longer, and was mentioned as Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspé in official publications as late as 1833.

Taking up a recently published pictorial guide to summer resorts, and glancing through its pages, I came upon the following passage: "The original name of the Saguenay was Chicoutimi, which signifies 'deep water,' and was so called by the Northern Indians, who here first encountered the profound depths of the river; the present name is a corruption of St. Jean Neg." Now, in the "Oeuvres de Champlain," edited by the late Abbé Laverdière (Quebec, Geo. E. Desbarats, 1870), page 68, I find a note which, being translated, reads as follows: "Father Jerome Lalemant (Relation 1646) says that the Indians called Tadoussac *Sadilege*; on the other hand, Thevet, in his

'Grand Insulaire,' affirms that the Indians of his time called the Saguenay *Thadoyseau*. It is probable that at those different epochs, as is still the case, one of these terms was often taken for the other. What is certain is that both words are of Indian origin. *Tadoussac* or *Tadouchac* means *mamelons* or "mounds" (from the word *totouchac*, which in Montagnais means 'a teat' or 'nipple'), and *Saguenay* signifies 'water issuing forth' (from the Montagnais *sakinip*)."

On the same subject I found a curious passage in a paper entitled "L'Amerique et les Portugais," contributed by Señor Luciano Cordeiro, professor at the Institute of Columbia, to the first Congrès des Américanistes, and printed in the Compte-Rendu of the proceedings at Nancy in 1875. "Canada," according to Señor Cordeiro, is a Potuguese term, meaning a narrow passage or a path bounded by walls. Having ascended the St. Lawrence, the Portuguese explorers gave the River that name (Canada) either from its configuration,or because they believed it to be a channel by which they could reach the East. Señor Cordeiro also suggests another explanation. In 1439 or 1440, Denis Fernandes had discovered in Africa a great river which was called *Çanaga* (now Senegal), near the mouth of which a fort was built in 1470. By that river it was thought possible to attain the interior of Prester John's Dominions and thus find a new route to India. The mouth of the river was called *Sonedech*, according to Goes, *Ovedech*, according to Barros, and *Tuedec*, according to Emanuel Correia. Perhaps, then, the Portuguese adventurers, in first seeing the St. Lawrence, were reminded of the *Çanuga* and Señor Cordeiro finds some ground for this hypothesis in the fact that it was at the influence of the Seguenai (sic) and the main river that Cartier seemed to have picked up the word "Canada." Association of ideas might then have recalled to his mind the other African term, "Tuedec," and thus the destined capital of new France might have obtained its name. I

give these conjectures as I find them, more as curiosities than as having any probability.

Abbé Cuoq, who is one of the best Indian scholars in North America, has settled the derivation of Canada. In his "Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise avec Notes et Appendices," I find the following definition: "*Kanata:* Ville, village, bourg, bourgade, camp, campement de plusieurs, group de tentes. De là le nom de Canada auquel on a voulu, tout récemment encore, mais toujours sans fondement solide, assigner une toute autre étymologie."

(Communicated by Mr. William McLennan.)

The exact scene of De Maisonneuve's exploit with the Iroquois chief in 1644, discussed in the March number, has always been a disputed point, and from its being styled the "Exploit of the Place d'Armes" by modern writers, it has been frequently held that the old Place d'Armes, Custom House Square, is meant. The Abbé Rousseau, in his *Vie de De Maisonneuve*, page 77, upholds this view. But the Abbé Faillon, in his exhaustive and authoritative *Histoire de la Colonie Française*, Vol. II, p. 25, gives his cogent reasons for the present Place d'Armes. The story is so familiar that we need not repeat it here, but an examination of the surroundings may help us to determine the probable scene of the encounter.

The Hotel Dieu, at the corner of St. Paul and the present St. Sulpice streets, was the first building of importance erected beyond the immediate limits of the Fort, and even this was at a distance of not more than three hundred yards. The work there was being pushed forward with all rapidity, and there was constant passing to and fro between the Fort and this point. The little colony had too practical an experience with the methods of Indian warfare to neglect so simple a precaution as that of removing the natural means of ambush along such a road, and it is improbable in any

case that the river front was heavily wooded. So that the *chemin de traine* referred to in *Dollier de Casson's* account, p. 52, cannot mean an open road that had been in daily use almost since the first settlement, and ran directly from the Fort over the site of the square long afterwards known as the Place d'Armes, to the Hotel Dieu. This *chemin de traine* was broken by carrying wood to the new buildings, and in all probability ran up towards the rising ground which reaches its height between Notre Dame and St. James streets, and in all likelihood along the line of the present St. Sulpice street. This direction is the more probable from the fact that the road used by the Indians to gain the mountain, as shown on a map of 1680, ran by the north-west corner of the present Place d'Armes, and as the usual landing-place was inside the little island now covered by the Island Wharf, it probably ran up or near St. Sulpice street and through the present Place d'Armes.

Here we have a place which would allow for the action and time required by the narrative. The men were scattered behind the trees and made a good fight until the ammunition began to fail, and as they were badly supplied with snow-shoes, a retreat was ordered to the *chemin de traine*, for firmer footing. This reached, they broke and ran, and De Maisonneuve retreated, facing the enemy, and from time to time stopping and menacing them as they pressed too closely. When the open road to the Fort was reached the fugitives were nearly cut down by the cannon of the Fort trained on the open road, the sentinel mistaking them for the enemy, and as it all occurred on a fine March morning, they must have been some distance away. De Maisonneuve had not yet appeared, and his fate was unknown until a few minutes afterwards, when he entered safe and sound after his perilous adventure. Had it occurred on the old Place d'Armes, not two hundred yards away, it would have been in full sight of the watching garrison. Bearing the above in mind, I think, although we may not agree with the pre-

ciseness with which M. Faillon places the exploit, we must conclude that the *old* Place d'Armes cannot have been the place; that it was at some distance beyond, and probably to the north of, the Hotel Dieu, and may fairly accept the tradition which fixes it as the present Place d'Armes.

[*Communicated by* Mr. Charles M. Holt.]

The following interesting item is from the note book of Mr. W. B. Lambe: "June 26, 1856.—Rev. Joseph Abbott, formerly Rector of St. Andrews, Canada, afterwards lecturer in History, McGill College, Montreal, told me that George Washington, first President of the U. S. of America, was born in Westmoreland, England, about six miles from where Abbott himself was born. That Washington was christened by the Vicar of the Parish (Burns, whose son was the author of 'Burns' Justice'), and that Washington was taken from England to America by his parents when about two months old. Rev. Mr. Abbott, at my request, wrote for a certificate from the Register of the Parish and received for reply 'that the register had been defaced.'"

Publications Received.

The Mysterious Stranger or Memoirs of the Noted Henry More Smith. By Walter Bates, Esquire. Saint John, N.B.; printed by Geo. W. Day, corner Prince William and Princess streets. 5th Edition. 1887.

[*Communicated by the Secy. of the New Brunswick Historical Society.*]

One of the most popular publications, of a social character, in the Province of New Brunswick, is the pamphlet entitled "The Mysterious Stranger; or, Memoirs of the Noted Henry More Smith." This little book, it is stated on the title page, contains "a correct account of his extraordinary conduct during the thirteen months of his confinement in the jail of King's County, Province of New Brunswick, where he was convicted of horse stealing, and under sentence of death." It also purports to give "a sketch of his life and character from his first appearance at Windsor, in Nova Scotia, in the year 1812, until the time of his apprehension and confinement." To which is also added "a history of his career, embracing an account of his imprisonments and escapes, selected from the most authentic sources, both public and private." Walter Bates, Esq., the author, was High Sheriff of King's County during the period of Smith's imprisonment and for many years after.

Mr. Bates was born in Stamford, Connecticut, and came to New Brunswick in the spring of 1783 with the Loyalists.

Henry More Smith was an accomplished vagabond and thief, who found in the good old Loyalist, Sheriff Bates, a biographer of no mean order, and the popularity of the book has no doubt been due entirely to the powers of description displayed by the author in the simple narrative he has so well written. Six editions of the book have been printed since its first appearance in 1830, and the sale still continues. Smith's misdeeds and adventures excited at the time of their occurrence a great deal of interest in the rural districts of the Province, and ignorant persons were disposed to attribute his cleverness to dealings with Satan. Many of the old residents of the locality who have, during the last few years, passed away, were never weary of relating anecdotes of this remarkable man, and relics of his mechanical skill were preserved in the parish for many years after his departure. The book is of great local historic value, and many of the names recorded on its pages have become famous in the annals of New Brunswick. The old jail at Kingston, where the "noted Henry More Smith" was imprisoned, has long since disappeared, and Kingston itself has also ceased to be the shiretown of King's County, but a short distance from the site of the old jail still stands the parish church, where the good sheriff and his family worshipped, and close to the entrance in the graveyard, by which it is almost surrounded, stands a square freestone column, beneath which rests the mortal remains of the staunch Loyalist and his wife, and on it is cut this epitaph :

In memory of
WALTER BATES, Esq.,
High Sheriff of this County,
who died
February 11th, A.D., 1842,
Aged 82 years.

MRS. ABIGAIL BATES,
Wife of
WALTER BATES, Esq.,
Who died July 6, 1820,
In the 58th year of her age.

Several of the prominent persons mentioned by Sheriff Bates in his little book sleep in that neglected churchyard, "the sleep that knows no waking," and on many of the headstones, scattered around, the record is cut that the sleeper was a United Empire Loyalist.

St. John, N.B., March, 1889. JONAS HOWE.

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CRUISES OF A NOVA SCOTIAN PRIVATEER.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshank.

Eighty years ago, Liverpool, N.S., was one of the busiest seaports in British America. Besides many vessels engaged in the lumber trade and fisheries, nearly a dozen private-armed vessels had been fitted out during the wars of the French revolution to play their part in the great struggle. Cruising, as a rule, in southern waters, they rarely returned unaccompanied by prizes, and one at least, the brig "Rover," Capt. John Godfrey, had acquired some thing more than local and temporary renown by her successful combat with the Spanish national schooner "Santa Aitta" and three gunboats off Cape Blanco, on the Venezuelan coast on the 10th October, 1800. But as the flags of France and Spain in after years almost disappeared from the ocean, except when displayed from the masthead of some swift-sailing frigate or corvette that had evaded the vigilance of the blockading squadrons, privateering became an unprofitable pursuit, and most of these vessels were converted into peaceful merchantmen.

When, however, it became known that the Congress of the United States had declared war against Great Britain and her dependencies, this sphere of activity seemed once

more thrown open to colonial seamen, and the merchants of Nova Scotia were not slow to seize the opportunity. Already within ten days of the actual declaration of hostilities, the Bay of Fundy, as well as the Gulf of St. Lawrence, swarmed with American privateers that had been equipped in anticipation of the event. Coasting vessels were taken in Port Medway and other small harbors and descents were attempted upon the coast. Reprisals were not officially authorized by the British Government until the 10th October, 1812, but Sir John Sherbrooke, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, had already encouraged the armament of privateers by promising to exert his influence to obtain the surrender of the *droits* of the Admiralty in prizes brought in by them.

One of the first vessels thus commissioned by him was a small but very fast-sailing schooner, the property of Mr. Enos Collins, of Halifax, but registered at the port of Liverpool by the name of the "Liverpool Packet." Originally a tender to an African slaver, she measured less than forty tons burden and was armed with five three-pounders and a long six-pounder on a pivot amidships. The command of this schooner was given to Captain Joseph Barss, a native Nova Scotian, and she was rather over-manned by a crew of forty-six officers and men.

Her first cruise, made in September, was fairly successful, two large ships having been brought in as prizes. Leaving port again early in October, ten vessels were taken in three days after arriving off Cape Cod, which thenceforth became her commander's favorite cruising ground. Having once more returned to Halifax with her prizes, the privateer re-appeared on the coast of Massachusetts in the beginning of November and within a week captured eleven sail. Upon the 18th she fell in with a fleet of fishing schooners and took nine, six of them with cargoes valued at $50,000, being sent in. A week later the list of prizes during the cruise was increased to twenty-nine, and

the whole of his crew, except seven men, having been placed on board the captured vessels, Captain Barss was compelled to return to port to obtain a fresh crew. Nineteen of the prizes taken in these three cruises, that were carried into Halifax, measured in the aggregate, 1,803 tons, and the values of their cargoes alone was estimated at $300,000. During the first week in December, Barss again left Halifax, and upon the 16th fell in with the Vineyard fleet off Cape Cod. A brig and eight schooners loaded with corn and flour were taken on that and the following day. More could easily have been captured, but the crew were scarcely sufficiently numerous to man the ships already in his possession, and after giving up the brig and a schooner to release the prisoners, he returned to Nova Scotia with the others.

The astonishing activity and success of the privateer spread dismay among the shipmasters of New England and the intimate acquaintance with their coast and the skill displayed by her commander in evading pursuit induced the conjecture that he was actually a native of the Cape Cod peninsula. The Boston and Salem newspapers teemed with reports of his depredations and inveighed against the Federal Government for its impotence to prevent them. "That an insignificent fishing schooner, of only thirty-five tons burden," said the *Boston Messenger*, "should have captured and carried home eight or nine sail valued at from $70,000 to $90,000, within twenty days of the time she left Liverpool, N. S., is shameful. A few weeks ago she had captured, within ten miles of Cape Cod, vessels with cargoes worth $50,000." Writing to a United States senator on the 9th January, 1813, the Collector of Boston, Mr. H. A. Dearborn, declared that the property captured by the "Liverpool Packet" in two cruises off Cape Cod would have been more than sufficient to have paid for the construction of a canal across the peninsula from Buzzard's Bay to Barnstaple. Two hundred waggons, he added, had been in

constant employment during the past three months transporting goods from Boston to Providence, where there had only been two before the war. The insurance on property shipped from the former port to New Orleans by way of the ocean had risen to thirty per cent., and so great were the perils of the voyage that merchandise was sent overland in waggons to Pittsburg and thence down the Ohio and Mississippi in preference.

Having been thoroughly re-fitted during the winter, the "Liverpool Packet" sailed in company with another small schooner-privateer, the "Retaliation," of Liverpool, in the beginning of March, 1813, and within a week after their arrival in Massachusetts Bay twelve prizes were taken and manned. A second cruise was attended with equal success, and on the 21st she returned to Liverpool accompanied by seven captured vessels. The harbour was crowded with her prizes, and her signal success induced the equipment of many other privateers. A large number of American letters-of marque had been captured by British cruisers during the preceding autumn, and carried into Halifax. Several of these were purchased by Nova Scotian merchants and commissioned under the British flag. Accordingly in April, 1813, quite a fleet of private-armed vessels sailed from Liverpool to prey upon the commerce of the United States. Boston was blockaded by the British frigates "Shannon" and "Tenedos" during the months of April and May, and several other vessels patrolled the New England coast, yet the "Liverpool Packet" continued to cruise off Cape Cod with undiminished success, paying an occasional visit to Massachusetts Bay, where she was once detected inside Half-way Rock. Boston newspapers record the names of a ship, two brigs, four schooners and two sloops taken by the redoubtable privateer in April, several of them being captured in sight of the coast. Early in May, she took a schooner and a sloop off Gloucester, Mass., and blockaded that port for two entire days. The towns-

people armed and manned a brig and two schooners to attempt her capture, but with no further result than to drive the audacious intruder to sea.

However, on the 10th June, when returning to her favorite station, after having taken several prizes, she encountered the privateer "Thomas," of Portsmouth, N.H., a much larger vessel, mounting twelve guns and manned with a crew of one hundred men. After a chase of five hours and a short action at close quarters, the "Liverpool Packet," which at the time had only thirty-three men on board, was finally carried by boarding. Captain Barss was retained in close confinement for several months and all of his crew were treated with great severity by their captors, some of whom were heard to express regret that they had not been put to death at once.

The captured vessel was immediately commissioned as a privateer by the name of the "Portsmouth Packet," but her career under the American flag was brief and inglorious, as in the course of her first cruise she was taken by the brig-of-war "Fantome," and carried into Halifax where she was purchased by her former owner, and resumed her old name under a new commander who seems to have been scarcely less enterprising and successful than Captain Barss. On the 18th December she made her appearance off Newport, R. I., and during the next four days captured vessels valued with their cargoes at $100,000 and manned so many of them that when she took her last prize, the sloop "Traveller," she had only five men remaining on board.

By the close of the year 1813 the principal ports of the United States were in a state of close blockade, and even the coasting trade had been almost annihilated by British cruisers. Colonial privateers still continued, however, to hover off the coast but the record of their captures henceforth becomes less frequent. Yet a Boston newspaper prints a list of eight schooners and sloops taken or burnt by the "Liverpool Packet" in May, 1814, and seven others in

the beginning of June. A letter from New York in the same paper, dated on the 22nd of the latter month, states that three days previous she had sailed for Halifax with only the captain and three men on board, the rest of the crew being absent in prizes. Little mention of her movements then occurs until December, when, in company with the "Rolla," she took seven or eight small vessels off the mouth of the Connecticut. This seems to have been her last exploit, for the treaty of Ghent soon after put an end to hostilities. In the course of about twenty cruises under British colours, the famous little privateer had captured upwards of a hundred vessels, valued with their cargoes at more than a million of dollars, and made the fortune of her owner.

ST. REGIS.

By the Editor.

The dates usually given by historians for the first settlement at St. Regis vary from 1755 to 1762, although the former date appears to be the correct one. The earliest entry in the register of the parish or mission is in some measure responsible for this variance because it is not only much faded but the last figure in the date appears to have been altered or written over.

In the N. Y. Col. MSS., Paris documents, at pp. 266-7 of Vol. X., the following reference appears in a letter from Duquesne to de Marchault—probably Secretary of State—dated at Quebec, 31st October, 1754 :

"My negotiation with the Mohawks succeeds admirably, as you will see by their propositions, but they cannot settle in the village of the Sault St. Louis, because the lands in that quarter are exhausted, so that more than thirty families belonging to that mission, being unable to collect wherewithal to feed themselves, are going to settle at Lake St. Francis, twenty leagues above Montreal, on the south side,

where there are very good lands; the Mohawks have agreed with these thirty families to go and settle their village at this place, whither a missionary will accompany them. This change, which will cost the King only the erection of a saw-mill that will furnish abundantly wherewith to build the cabins, becomes very advantageous to the colony in as far as it will be easy in time of war to be informed of all that might occur in the direction of Choueguen; besides, La Presentation and this new village on Lake St. Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains will form a barrier which will protect the Government of Montreal against all incursions, because in that weak quarter the troops that might be sent thither will be always supported by these Indians," etc.

The Mohawks referred to in this letter were doubtless those of that tribe who were living in English territory but had gone over to the French. There is a tradition amongst the early settlers that the Indians all came from Albany with Sir Wm. Johnson's army, but whether they came then or earlier I cannot determine. As to those from Caughnawaga or Sault St. Louis there is seemingly no doubt.

In the Haldimand Collection, now in the Archives at Ottawa, and in Vol. B. 114, p. 307, there is a memorandum from Col. Claus to General Haldimand, which is as follows:

"Memorandum of what I can recollect relative to the settlement of St. Regis by the Indians that emigrated from Sault St. Louis:

"Père Gordan, of the Order of the Jesuits, was the promoter of that settlement at the commencement of the war in 1755, the occasion, as he told me, was that on account of the approaching war such a continual drunkenness prevailed among the Caghnawagez Indians that mission became of little use, when he proposed to the sober and well thinking Indians to remove out of the way of liquor as the only remedy against debauch, and accordingly prevailed

upon some families to follow him, and he in consequence obtained General Vaudreuil's consent and a promise of a grant of any spot or tract of land he might pitch upon, that were unconceded lands on St. Lawrence River above Sault St. Louis. Upon which he left Caghnawagez with the families that determined to follow him, and fixed upon the spot where St. Regis village is now established.

"That the troubles of the war never afforded him an opportunity to get a deed executed, deferring it to the more leisurable time of peace, besides not expecting the war would end so unfavourably for France. Père Gordan frequently mentioned to me the extent of the tract with his reasons for the quantity which he intended should commence at the Rivière des Raisins and on to the foot of the Long Sault, six leagues deep on each side of the river, urging me after the conquest of Canada to procure him a grant for said tract either from the Governor of the Province or Sir Wm. Johnson, as sole Superintendent of Indian Affairs, but I always endeavoured to put him off as well as I could, and to my knowledge he never received any writing or title for said tract.

"The account the St. Regis Indians give me for claiming the above tract of land, was, that when they had a falling out with Père Gordan about taking too much upon himself about their political affairs in the village, when they demanded of him to deliver them up the deed of their land in his possession, which he denied, and they insisted upon that he concealed it from them, telling me in Council that he was possessed of such an instrument, and they believed his intention was to act as his associates did intend at Sault St. Louis, to keep the land for himself. This is what the Indians allege about their claim to these lands. It may be probable that the French Government promised a grant for the settlement at St. Regis, for as I learnt from a faithful Canadian Indian, it was more a political scheme of the French Government to establish a settlement of Indians

there, partly for the security of that frontier as well as the convenience of excursions upon the Mohawk River and bringing the Oneida Indians over to the French interest, what was mostly effected during the war. Montreal, 11th March, 1784. Dan Claus, Pr. Agt. for Six Nations, Cana."

On receipt of this memorandum, Haldimand writes to Sir John Johnson from Headquarters, Quebec, 15th March, 1784, "I have had the registers carefully examined, and found that no grant was ever made of these lands in question to Indians, Père Gordan, or any other person whosoever in their behalf." He proceeds to say that it would not be politic to contend the point with the Indians, but promising to write definitely to Col. Campbell.

This letter to Johnson is also to be found in the Haldimand Collection at p. 129 of Vol. B. 63.

In the same volume at p. 141 we find the letter to Col. Campbell, dated from Quebec, 22nd March, 1784, in which Campbell is instructed to enquire what compensation will satisfy the St. Regis Indians, not, he adds, as a matter of right, but as a matter of indulgence, it being proposed to settle Sir John Johnson's regiment upon the lands the Indians claimed. This scheme appears, however, to have been abandoned, as at p. 212 of the same volume, is another letter to Johnson from Quebec, 15th April, 1784, in which he is instructed to allow the Indians to remain on their reserve as a matter of indulgence pending signification of the King's pleasure.

This appears to have been given almost at once for Haldimand left Canada the same year and the following letter from D. C. Napier, R. A., and S. I. A. to Lieut.-Col. Cowper, the military secretary at Quebec, dated from Montreal, 21st March, 1827, is found in the Indian papers in the Archives, p. 163, 164 for 1829.

"The Iroquois Indians of St. Regis possess the undermentioned lands and islands in Lower and Upper Canada which were allotted to their use and benefit by the late Sir

Frederick Haldimand soon after the peace of 1783, in lieu of the lands previously occupied by these Indians as their hunting grounds, viz.: twenty-one concessions of land situated in the Eastern District of Upper Canada, and lying between the Counties of Stormont and Glengarry, nine islands in the River St. Lawrence in front of the Townships of Charlottenburg, Cornwall, Osnaburgh and Edwardsburgh in Upper Canada; eight concessions in the reservation called Dundee, Lower Canada, and between the Salmon River and the Township of Godmanchester, also the reservation commonly denominated the Parish of St. Regis, forming the tract of land between the Salmon River and the Village of St. Regis. The present agent to the St. Regis Indians is Mr. Soloman T. Chesley, of Cornwall. He was appointed to this duty (for which he receives a commission of ten per cent.) by the Earl of Dalhousie, in the year 1820, and he is required by his instructions to submit a statement of his agency at the end of each year to the head of the Indian Department for the information of the commander of the forces."

Finally the 68th Cap. of 27-28 Vic. C. (1864), which provided for the change of tenure of these lands, recites that "the Township of Dundee, in Lower Canada, was set apart for the use and benefit of the Indians of the tribe Iroquois, of St. Regis, at an early period of the Government of Canada as an Indian Reservation."

To conclude this note I may make two more extracts from papers in the Archives which give some statistical account of this settlement. In the Indian book of 1795, p. 326, is a return by the priests, dated Montreal, 12th October, 1795, in which the population of St. Regis is stated as follows:

36 Chiefs, 92 men (warriors) 114 women.
40 Boys between 10 and 12 years of age.
36 " " 5 and 8 " "
25 Girls " 10 and 12 " "
32 " " 5 and 8 " "
55 Children under 8 " "
A Total of 430 souls.

In 1828, at p. 54 of the book for this year, we find the following statistics : 112 men, 113 women, 129 children, 95 heads of families, 59 houses, 380 acres under cultivation by Indians, producing 3000 bushels Indian corn, 200 bush. oats, 310 bush. peas, 250 bush. potatoes, 220 tons hay. They possessed 60 cows, 6 oxen, 51 horses, 104 swine and 1 cart. In that year there had been 14 births, 5 marriages and 9 deaths.

They now number about 1200 souls. The rate of increase is high, as appears from the following statement recently compiled from the registers of the mission.

	Births.	Burials.
1882	82	51
1883	95	49
1884	82	49
1885	93	35
1886	92	49
1887	82	56

up to about 30th November, 1888.

At present, the Iroquois of St. Regis own only a small tract of land in and about the village, the Township of Dundee having been purchased by the white settlers, who formerly held under long term leases from the chiefs.

[I am indebted to the Rev. J. E. Jones, S.J., for the following additional notes upon St. Regis and, more particularly, its founder, Father Gordan.—Ed.]

John Gilmary Shea, in his History of the Catholic Church in Colonial days, New York, 1886, pp. 617 and 618, says :

"The Abbé Piquet went to France to obtain needed coadjutors, but he had scarcely returned when the war began which was to close the chapter of French power. During that struggle the Indians of all the missions were called to the field, and as the tide of success turned against them, Mr. Piquet and his Indians, in 1759, abandoned Fort Presentation, and made a new home on Grand Isle aux

Galops, sometimes called Isle Piquet, where he erected a chapel for his flock. When all seemed lost, the devoted missionary, ofter making a final entry in his register, May 10, 1760, returned to France by way of Louisiana. His successor, the Sulpitian, Rev. John Peter Besson de la Garde, acting as chaplain in Fort Levis, was taken by the English, but was allowed to resume his labours as an Indian missionary.

* * * * "Just as this mission was about to remove from the soil of New York, the Jesuit Father, Mark Anthony Gordon (Antoine Gordan), selected Aquasasne, 'the place where the partridge drums,' and there, with part of the people of the Caughnawaga mission at Sault St. Louis, founded that of St. Francis Regis, erecting a log house for a temporary chapel. This perished by fire just before the close of the war, so that the year 1763 saw no chapel at that spot."

What concerns the death of Father Gordan, see report on Canadian Archives, 1887, Haldimand Collection, p. 120 (July 1, 1779). Having written to Mr. Brymner to supplement the laconism of the entry, he was good enough to send me the following extract from Col. Campbell's letter to Gen. Haldimand.

"Montreal, July, 1, 1779.—* * * * I am sorry to inform Your Excellency that the Pére Gordan died here last night of the bad fever that killed so many of the Indians of Caughnawaga this last spring, he is a very great loss to Government, and will be particularly felt by me or the person in my office."

For the answer to this letter see Report. Ibid. pg. 129. Here is the passage referring to Father Gordan, for which I am also indebted to Mr. Brymner :

"Quebec, July 5, 1779.—* * * * I read with great concern your account of Pére Gordan's death; we have lost in him a faithful and a useful subject." There must have been more in the letter, for, according to the abstract

in the Report, pg. 129, he added : " *To prevent bad conse-*
" *quences at the village, where he had such influence for good,*
" *Mr. Johnson to go there with an interpreter.*"

Notes.

By Mr. W. W. L. Chipman.

Some discussion has arisen as to the correct spelling of the surname of Sir William Alexander's Deputy Admiral—David *Kertch* or *Kirke*—who captured the fortress of Quebec, and carried Champlain a prisoner to England in 1629. Mr. Douglas Brymner, in his Report on Canadian Archives for 1885, spells it *Kirke*, saying he was a son of Gervaise Kirke, a native of Derbyshire, who, for purposes of trade, had removed to Dieppe.

McGregor, in his Hist. of Canada, calls him a French Calvinist who fled to England from Dieppe. The name is spelt by him *Kirckt*, *Kirke* and *Kirk*. Mons. de Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador, addressing a note to the English Government in 1630, remonstrated over the continual occupation of Quebec by Captain *Querch*. His father, while hailing from an English shire (Brymner) bore the Christian name of *Gervaise*, proclaiming his French connection. The French Ambassador most probably gave the spelling followed in France from which *Kertch* is derived, and in writing of events dating back 260 years the latter appears a justifiable way of spelling it, particularly as in the works of Champlain, published in 1870, under the patronage of Laval University, by the Abbé Laverdière, Champlain himself (Vol. 6, p. 223) calls him General *Quer.*, and the Abbé, in a foot note, adds " *Quer.* pour *Kertk*," showing the *Quer*-tch of the French Ambassador.

The Mayor of Dieppe, to whom reference was made last year, stated that the civic registers of baptisms and mar-

riages prior to 1694 were destroyed in the bombardment of the town in that year, and no subsequent registers disclose this particular surname.

When Querch's squadron sailed for Nova Scotia in 1627 he was made a baronet and may then have chosen to adopt the English orthography of *Kirke*. Henry Kirke, who has written an account of the expedition to Quebec, is, we presume, a descendant of the gallant commander.

The following are amongst the different spellings adopted :

French Ambassador	Querch
Champlain	Quer.
Scotch Privy Council	Kercht
McGregor	Kirckt, Kirke, Kirk
Rogers	Kertch
Garneau	Kertk
Charlevoix	"
Farland	"
Bibaud	"
Miles	"
Sulte	"
L'Abbé Laverdière	"
Bouchette	Kirk
Haliburton	"
Brymner	Kirke
Slafter	"
Jeffers	"

The following is from the "collection de manuscrits," Vol. 1, page 105. "Relation du Voyage faict en Canada pour la prise de possession du Fort de Quebek" —'les *Kerkts* sont *calvinistes* ou de quelqu'aultre religion plus libertine.'

Societies.

The Society for Historical Studies, The Society of Canadian Literature, and the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, held a joint conversazione at the Natural History Museum on Wednesday evening, 22nd May. Prof. Charles G. D. Roberts of King's College, Windsor, read an address on "The Literary Life in Canada." The hall was beautifully decorated, and an orchestra added to the enjoyment. In the Museum, a number of the cases were filled, for

the occasion, with rare Canadian books, manuscripts, maps and engravings. A collection of photographs of Canadian writers was also exhibited. There was a large attendance of the friends of the societies, and the entertainment was, in all respects, a pronounced success. Prof. J. Clark Murray of McGill University presided.

The Loyalists Society of New Brunswick, met in the rooms of the Natural History Society, St. John, on the 18th May, Sir John C. Allen in the chair. Addresses were delivered by the chairman, Mr. Charles W. Weldon, M.P., Recorder Jack, Messrs. C. N. Skinner, M.P., James Hannay, Alderman T. W. Peters, Judge Palmer, and Dr. Silas Alward who delivered the oration of the evening. Messrs. J. W. Lawrence and James Hannay were referred to as the active organisers of the society.

Queries and Replies.

Ann Cuthbert Knight.—In reply to J. H.'s query in No. 3 of this volume, L. P. S. writes: About a year ago I bought a much worn little volume entitled "A Year in Canada, and Other Poems," by Ann Cuthbert Knight, Edinburgh, 1816, 12 mo.

The dedication to Miss Cruden, is dated Aberdeen, April 5, 1815. The poem which gives its title to the little volume is divided into five parts and covers the four seasons of the year in Canada, with special reference to the scenery on the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Glengarry, Ont. Three shorter poems complete the book. Allibone "Dictionary of English Literature," mentions another work by the same author: Home, a poem, 1815. I hardly think Mrs. Knight can be placed on the list of Canadian authors, although she may have lived a year or so in Canada.

Hochelaga asks: Who was the "Thos. Schieffelin" whose name occurs in Mr. Brymner's communication at p. 14 of this Vol. Are any of the family still in Canada?

Publications Received.

Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. No. 19. Sessions 1887 to 1889. Quebec: Printed at the *Morning Chronicle* office, 1889. Contains the reports, lists of officers and members and the following papers: On Library, F. C. Wurtele;

Elementary Discussion of the Nebular Hypothesis, W. A. Ashe; Champlain's Tomb, Dr. Harper; Histoire Abrégée de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Quebec, etc.; Inscription sur une plaque de cuivre trouvée dans les foundations d'un mur qui séperait le jardin du Château St. Louis du Fort de Quebec, 1850; Notes sur la Château St. Louis (incendié en 1834) et le Château Haldimand ou Vieux Château, par Ernest Gagnon.

Loyalists' Centennial Souvenir.—St. John, N.B J. & A. McMillan, 100 Prince William Street, 1887. I am indebted to the New Brunswick Historical Society, St. John, for this book, which contains a great variety of interesting information upon the Loyalist settlement in New Brunswick. The reason of its publication was the centennial of the landing of the Loyalists at St. John which occurred in 1883. The New Brunswick Historical Society was the prime mover in the matter, and through the energy of the President Mr. J. W. Lawrence has caused the publication of this valuable little volume.

Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba:—No. 30.—26 April, 1888. Sketch of the Life of John Tanner —a famous Manitoba Scout. Rev. Geo. Bryce, L. L. D.

No. 31.—4th May, 1888. Henry's Journal—Covering Adventures and Experiences in the Fur Trade in the Red River, 1799—1801—Mr. C. N. Bell, F.R.G.S.

No. 32.—11th May, 1888. The Abortive Fenian Raid on Manitoba—Hon. Gilbert McMicken.

No. 33.—28th February, 1889. President's Address—Mr. C. N. Bell. This number also contains the annual reports and lists of members.

The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities by Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D. Associate Professor of History in the John Hopkins University. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1887. The title of this work sufficiently indicates its scope, and it is not necessary to add any commendation to the endorsement of the bureau under whose auspices it appears.

Maugerville Township. How the People lived in the Early Days. History of its Church. How Sunbury County was settled by the Men of Massachusetts. A paper read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society. By James Hannay. Published in the Saint John *Evening Gazette* of January 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th, 1889.

CANADIANA

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BY-PATHS IN OUR BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Extracts from a paper read before the Society for Historical Studies, Montreal, on the 27th March, 1889, *by* Mr. Henry Mott.

There is a broad and well-beaten path along which students of Canadian history are accustomed to travel, and only here and there will one be found courageous enough to turn aside to less recognized ways.

The lapse of years has so swelled our list of authors that, to some extent, a selection must be made, but this may safely be asserted that in many so-called "obscure" and "minor" writers there may be much more than at first we are inclined to assume.

I desire to call attention to the profusion of pamphlets and booklets that are scattered broadcast in our path; and amongst the pamphleteers are many whose work is not to be estimated by its quantity nor by comparisons with performances of greater pretensions, but by the circumstances under which they produced them. It is profitable, too, occasionally to study writers whom we feel we can boldly criticize as well as admire.

"A little chink may let in much light."

Much information may be gleaned from our pamphlet

literature which is not otherwise attainable, and we may say of it, in the words of Robert Burns:—

> "There's wit there, you'll get there,
> You'll find nae ither where."

Francis Maseres was one of the busiest essayists of the early times of British *régime*. He was the author of several volumes; among which we may note "An Account of the Proceedings of the British and other Protestant Inhabitants of the Province of Quebeck in North America, in order to obtain an House of Assembly in that Province," published in London 1775.

"Additional Papers concerning the Province of Quebec, being an Appendix to the Book entitled etc. etc.," published in London 1776.

"The Canadian Freeholder," in three volumes, published in London 1777 and 1779.

There is also a volume of "Occasional Essays on various Subjects," etc. etc. The contents are short pieces on Events at Boston, Slavery, The Doctrine of Libels, and of more interest to us, "An Account of the Noblesse or Gentry in Canada in the Year 1775," and "Considerations on the Expediency of Procuring an Act of Parliament for the Settlement of the Province of Quebeck," printed in London 1766. A volume of collected essays was also published in London in 1809.

The author of all these works was Francis Maseres, of Cambridge, M.A., F.R.S. and F.A.S., His Majesty's Attorney-General for the Province of Quebec, and afterwards Cursitor Baron of the Court of Exchequer of England. He resided continuously in the Province of Quebec from September, 1760, to September, 1769. He was born at London 15th December, 1731, and died at Reigate 19th May, 1824. A memoir of his life will be found in the Annual Register for 1824, page 220 et seq.

Amongst other pamphlets published anonymously we

may note one published at Montreal in 1809 entitled, "Considerations des effets qu'ont produit en Canada, la Conservation des Etablissemens du pays, les Moeurs, l'Education, etc., de ses Habitants; et les consequences qu'en traineroient leur decadence par rapport aux interets de la Grande Bretagne," by a Canadian M.P.P. The writer was Denis B. Viger, of Montreal. After the custom of that time, this was replied to by "An Apology for Great Britain in allusion to a Pamphlet entitled, 'Considerations, etc. etc.;'" this was by Ross Cuthbert, Seigneur of Lanoraie, etc.. and published at Quebec in the same year—1809.

A busy man amongst pamphleteers was Mr. Adam Thom, of the Montreal *Herald*. We have from his pen:—"Review of a Report made in 1828 by the Canada Committee of the House of Commons," etc.; "Remarks on the Petition of the Convention and on the Petition of the Constitutionalists, etc., in 1835," by Anti-Bureaucrat; "Anti-Gallic Letters addressed to His Excellency the Earl of Gosford," etc., by Camillus, in 1836.

This "Camillus," in the preface, is said to be Adam Thorn—reprinted from the Montreal *Herald*. It has been said that these letters were written by Judge Gale, and indeed there appears some reason for believing them to have been at least a joint production—and beyond question Judge Gale was a voluminous writer.

In the Confederation controversy, the three letters on "The Crown and Confederation," by "A Backwoodsman," in 1864, are by Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

The *Lower Canada Watchman*, published anonymously at Kingston, U.C., in 1829, and which has been frequently referred to in connection with Mr. Kingsford's statement as to the earliest books printed in Upper Canada, was the work of David Chisholm, who for the last five years of his life was editor of the Montreal *Gazette*.

In speaking of early books in Upper Canada, the *Canadian Review*, No. 1, Vol. I., July, 1824, contains a criticism of a novel recently published, entitled, "Saint Ursula's Convent; or, the Nun of Canada—containing scenes from real life. In two volumes. Kingston, Upper Canada, 1824." The critic speaks of them as "two small duodecimo volumes," and of the author as "a lady only 17 years of age."

A pamphlet of nineteen pages, published in Montreal in 1810, entitled. "Some Considerations on this Question—Whether the British Government acted wisely in granting to Canada her present Constitution? with an Appendix containing Documents, etc. etc., by a British Settler," is by John Fleming. He was a resident of Montreal for twenty-nine years, where he died of cholera, 30th July, 1832. He also wrote "The Political Annals of Lower Canada," published at Montreal in 1828.

I have already said that Judge Gale was a busy writer; he was the "Nerva" of the Montreal *Herald*. These letters were collected and published under the title "'Nerva;' a Collection of Papers published in the Montreal *Herald*." He was for several years Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, and died here in 1865. Judge Aylwin and Judge Badgeley were also pamphleteers.

I suppose it is well known that the celebrated report of Earl Durham was written by Charles Buller, his secretary. and the appendix to it was furnished by the late Christopher Dunkin. I may add, with regard to Charles Buller, that he was a man of remarkable ability, and was highly esteemed in all circles at home. He died on the 20th November, 1848, at the early age of forty-two. It was he to whom the novelist Thackeray referred in his ballad entitled "The End of the Play":

Who knows the inscrutable design?
Blessed be He who took and gave.
Why should your mother, Charles, not mine,
Be weeping at her darling's grave?
We bow to heaven that willed it so,
That darkly rules the fate of all;
That sends the respite or the blow,
That's free to give or to recall.

The late Hon. John Young and Sir Francis Hincks were inveterate pamphleteers in their day, and there is also a cloud of writers who, under the anonyms of "Mercator," "A Protestant," "Citizen," etc. etc., float down the current and are absorbed and lost in the gulf of time. Of the Hon. John Young we should not overlook the fact that he was the first to propose the Victoria Bridge, and that he did so in a letter published in the Montreal *Herald*.

I suppose we are all familiar with what is known as "Marriott's Report," this was printed early in 1774, and was entitled, "Plan of a Code of Laws for the Province of Quebec, Reported by the Advocate-General." Dr. Marriott was appointed to be King's Advocate-General in 1764, and Judge of the Admiralty Court in 1778. He twice represented the borough of Sudbury in Parliament, and died in 1803. His examination before the House of Commons in 1774, when the House was in Committee on the second reading of the bill "For making more Effectual Provisions for the Government of the Province of Quebec," is extremely interesting. This is the Act of Parliament known as "The Quebec Act."

With reference to Smith's History of Canada, which bears the imprint "2 vols. Quebec, 1815," these two volumes were not published until 1826; and it will be observed that the figure "5" in the date is different in type from the other figures, and in some copies that I have seen, the

impress of that figure is so marked that it is seen upon the following page.

In a letter which I have in my possession, written by the author to Stephen Sewell, Esq., at Montreal, dated Quebec, December 12th, 1811, he says:

"My long-delayed history appears about the 5th January. It contains, with the appendix, 460 pages, royal 8vo. Will it sell at Montreal? Pray enquire, and I will send up some copies." It is to be presumed that this only covers the first volume, for the size of the book really is—Vol. I. 383 pages and appendix 72 pages, and Vol. II. 235 pages. I may say the second volume also bears the alteration in the date that I have spoken of.

This letter is endorsed:—"The above refers to William Smith's History of Canada; although he anticipated the appearance of his work within a few weeks after the above was written, yet it was not printed until 1815, and then from some unknown cause was not allowed to make its appearance in the world for many years after, viz., in 1826."

In this interval it was entombed in the garret of the printer, John Neilson (afterwards Hon). As it was printed for the author, and the author was a notoriously "bad pay," the reasons for this long entombment may easily be imagined.

In the letter of Mr. Smith, before referred to, he also said:—"Our little snipe of a Governor wants to make himself popular by dining everywhere, but this will not do, and I am sorry to say that he has no one about him of sufficient talents to put him in the right road. What a difference between the two Governors—Sir James conducted himself like a king, Sir George, after him, appears a puny little thing."

The Sir James "who conducted himself like a king" was Sir James Henry Craig, Governor from the autumn of 1807 to June, 1811, and he was succeeded by the "little snipe," the "puny little thing,"—Sir George Prevost.

In one of the many statements of "Canadian Grievances" there occurs the following entry:

"And the locusts went up all over the land, and rested in all the coasts, very grievous were they; before then there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall there be such. For they covered the face of the earth so that the land was darkened, and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees." And then, under the heading, "The Smith Family":—"William Smith, brother-in-law to Chief-Justice Sewell, son of a late chief-justice of the Province, member of the Executive Council, Master in Chancery, one of the Board for the inspection of the Receiver-General's vaults, Judge of the Court of Appeals—salaries, exclusive of percentage on the contingent expenses of the Legislative Council, about £700. This gentleman has been forty-one years in possession of these pickings."

Notes.

By Mr. Douglas Brymner.

In *Canadiana* for June, Mr. W. W. L. Chipman quotes various authors to prove that the spelling of the name of the captor of Quebec in 1629 was Kertk, Kertch or Querch, which latter he appears to prefer. The spelling thus given shows that the name is not French, whatever other nation may claim the paternity of so barbarous a collection of letters.

Among the other authorities relied on by Mr. Chipman is the Abbé Laverdière, a most careful writer. The reference Mr. Chipman gives is to page 223 of volume six (Œuvres de Champlain, 1870, the total paging to be found at the foot being 1207). In the text the name is written "General Quer," which the editor corrects in a note "Quer, from Kertk." In page 177 of the same volume (1161 of the total pagination), in which the name first occurs, Mr. Laverdière

has this note on the signature "David Quer" attached to the summons to surrender Quebec:—"*Ce nom a du être ainsi orthographié d'après une copie qui portait Quirc; car on retrouve par signature originale* Kearke *et* Kirke." (This name must have been spelt from a copy having *Quirc;* for the original signature is found to be *Kearke* or *Kirke.*) Now the equivalent of *Qu* is K, and the word thus written is Kirc, as near Kirk as the eccentric spelling of the day permitted. An example of this may be found in the name Jacques Quartier or Cartier, yet no one now thinks of spelling it Quartier. Quebec, besides that spelling, may be found written Quebecq and Kebec, The *Qu* is the exact equivalent of our K. as Ou, before a vowel, is of our W, in such words as Wisconsin—French, Ouisconsin; Ottawa—French, Outaouais. Thus the spelling preferred by Mr. Chipman (Querch) is simply Kerk, the vowel more closely resembling the sound in Kirk than *i* would, as the latter, if used in French, would sound Keerk, not Kirk.

But leaving conjectures and inferences aside, I send you the copy of a representation made by Lewis *Kirk,* which, besides the spelling, shows the authority under which he and his brothers carried on hostilities in the St. Lawrence, etc. If you have room you might give it in full.

On the 26th of February. 1631, a petition was presented to the Admiralty by Sir Wil. Alexander, Captain David *Kirke* and others, "Adventurers in the Company of Canada," praying that certain vessels might be prevented from interfering with their trading rights. The warrant issued to give effect to the petition was in favour of Sir Will. Alexander, *Jarvis Kirke,* and others, "who had been at great charges," etc. That the name was indifferently written Kirk or Kirke is plain from the documents cited. Further evidence (which might be multiplied indefinitely) is to be found in two warrants in favour of another Kirk; in one, dated 22nd March, 1627, he is called George Kirke, with the final *e;* in the other, dated on the 31st of May of the

same year, he is called George Kirk, without the final letter. Both warrants were issued under the Privy Seal.

The truth seems to be, that Champlain mistook the signature of David *Quirc* for *Quer*, and so continued to write it. That a French ambassador should spell an English name in a peculiar manner is not wonderful. The name of Cornwallis is not easily distinguishable under the guise of *Cornowls*, as given in a French official document, yet this would scarcely be relied on as authority for the spelling of his lordship's name. The same remark applies to the old Scotch Council, in whose records the spellings of proper names are most confusing.

Charlevoix gives the name as Kerkt, and the "sheepy people," as the poet Chaucer styles them, have followed, and will, no doubt, continue to follow his lead.

I may, in conclusion, refer to a letter addressed by Charles I. to Sir Isaac Wake. his ambassador in France, dated the 12th of June, 1631. It was published for the first time in the Report on Canadian Archives for 1884, in which the full text may be found. The letter is signed by the King's own hand. At page lxii. of the report are found these words: "particularly the three brothers, the *Kirks*."

Like all other "vulgar errors," the mistake in spelling the name will die hard, as will the attributed nationality. Jarvis, Jervas, or Gervaise Kirke, for his Christian name is given in different forms, was not a native of France, nor were his sons refugee Frenchmen, as the name of Kertk, Querch, or any of its varieties, sufficiently proves.

The theory that David Kirke changed his name from Querch on being made a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1627, is a weak foundation on which to build an argument. It is simply an attempt to set up a reason, with not the slightest shadow of proof, and therefore needs no answer beyond this, that in the roll of the baronets of Nova Scotia, giving each name and the date, day, month and year of creation, from 1625 to 1637, the name of Kirke does not appear, nor does

any other that could be considered in the least resembling it, and that David Kirke was *knighted*, not made a baronet, in 1633, six years after the hypothetical date that would lead him to change his name.

The documents in the "First English Conquest of Canada," by Henry Kirke, may be studied with advantage.

[I regret that want of space prevents the publication of the extract which Mr. Brymner has been good enough to send with the above.—Ed.]

Mr. David Denne of this city. calls attention to an error in Mr. Reade's article on "Canadian Histories." at page 6 of this volume, where the date of Mrs. Janet Roy's history (1st ed.) is stated as 1850. Mr. Denne has a copy published by Ramsay & Armour, Montreal, in 1847, in which the questions which appear at the end of the volume in later editions, are here printed on the margin of the text.

By Mr. John Reade.

In the May number of *Canadiana* appeared a communication from Mr. Charles M. Holt, in which is given an extract from the note-book of Mr. W. B. Lambe of this city, which reads as follows:—

"June 26, 1856.—Rev. Joseph Abbott, formerly Rector of St. Andrews, Canada, afterwards lecturer in History, McGill College, Montreal, told me that George Washington, first President of the United States of America, was born in Westmoreland, England, about six miles from where Abbott himself was born. That Washington was christened by the Vicar of the parish (Burns, whose son was the author of 'Burns' Justice'), and that Washington was taken from England to America by his parents when about two months old. Rev. Mr. Abbott, at my request, wrote for a certificate from the Register of the parish and received for reply 'that the register had been defaced.'"

Strange as this story may seem, in view of the popular tradition among our neighbors as to Washington's American nativity, it is certainly not without some foundation. Even so patriotic and (in the main) so pains-taking a writer as Benson J. Lossing, who had access to whatever documents were likely to shed light on the question of Washington's birth and baptism, is compelled to acknowledge that there is no official record to solve it. Washington himself seems to have been brought up in the belief that he was born in Virginia. When about seventeen years old, he made the following entry in his mother's Bible: "George Washington, son to Augustine and Mary his wife was born ye 11th day of February, 173½ about 10 in the morning, and was baptized on the 8th of April following, Mr. Beverley Whiting and Capt. Christopher Brooks, Godfather (*sic*), and Mrs. Mildred Gregory, Godmother." The fact that "th," instead of "rd" comes after the figure "3" in the date of the baptism, gives some reason to believe that a cipher has been omitted, so that the real date would be "April 30th." This change would add nearly four weeks to the interval between the birth and the baptism and, on the theory that the former took place in England, the latter in Virginia, would impart some probability to the intervening voyage by Mrs. Augustine Washington.

Augustine Washington was born in 1694, and, when twenty-one years old, married Jane, daughter of Caleb Butler, of Westmoreland County, Virginia. This lady died on the 24th of November, 1728, after having borne four children, of whom Lawrence and Augustine survived to maturity. Augustine (George Washington's father) then married Mary Ball, on the 6th of March, 1730. Of this latter marriage no record is preserved. In December 1871, Dr. B. J. Lossing, while staying with the late Prof. F. B. Morse in New York, was shown by his host a portrait said to be that of Washington's mother, Mary Ball, taken just before her marriage. Prof. Morse had received the picture

from an artist named George Harvey, to whom it had been bequeathed by George Field, author of "The British School of Artists" and other works. Mr. Harvey had made Mr. Field's acquaintance in 1847, and on being shown by that gentleman the portrait in question, was at once struck by its resemblance to the ordinary portraits of Washington. In February, 1841, Mr. Field gave Mr. Harvey a history of the portrait, to satisfy the incredulity of Americans with respect to it. When he (Mr. Field) was a boy, being in the vicinity of Cookham in Berkshire, his uncle with whom he was living pointed out to him a pretty cottage as the house in which Washington's parents had once resided. Mrs. Morer (*née* Taylor), who lived in the same neighborhood, showed him the Mary Ball portrait and other relics of the Washingtons, which had been given to her when they left England for America, whither her mother or aunt accompanied them as their baby's (George's) nurse. In 1812, Mr. Field, being near Cookham again, inquired for Mrs. Morer, but learned that she had died and that her effects were about to be sold. He gave instructions to have the portrait purchased for him. By his will, dated Jan. 19, 1852, Mr. Field bequeathed the portrait to his artist friend, Mr. Harvey. The latter, who gave these particulars to Mr. Morse, had also met near Cookham an aged gentleman named Greathurst, who had, he said, lived in the house in which Washington was born. Mr. Harvey also ascertained (but how he did not say) that in 1729 Augustine Washington was in England in connection with some property to which he had fallen heir. He also expressed his belief that Mary Ball's portrait had been painted by Thomas Hudson, the most popular, after the death of Sir Godfrey Knelles, of the London portrait painters of that time. During Mary Ball's sojourn in England, Hudson had a summer residence in Berkshire, not far from where the Washingtons and Balls resided. Joseph Ball, Jr., the brother of Washington's mother, was educated in England, became a

legal practitioner in London, and having married a Miss Ravenscroft, made England his permanent home.

In 1853, Mr. Harvey made personal inquiries at Cookham, ascertained that the Washingtons had really lived there, that several members of the Ball family had resided and been buried there. But the Baptismal and Marriage Register of the parish had disappeared—having been taken away by a lawyer and, while in his possession, destroyed by a fire. A fragment of a letter written by Miss Lizzie Burwell to Miss Nelly Car, on the 15th of May, 1728, gives it to be understood that "Molly Ball" was then going on a visit with her brother Joseph to the latter's home in England. Mention has already been made of Augustine Washington's visit to England in connection with the estate there.

It seems, on the whole, not improbable that the marriage of Augustine Washington and Mary Ball took place in England, and it is, at least, possible that George Washington was born there. It is true that, when in 1792, being then President of the United States, he sent to Sir Isaac Heard a genealogical table of the Virginia Washingtons, he gave Westmoreland County, Virginia, as his own birth-place. But, if there was any doubt on the subject, he would naturally give the country of which he was already the reputed father, the benefit of it. It is more in harmony with the nature of things that the great and successful leader of the American Revolution should be an American than that he should be an Englishman. On the other hand, there is a good deal to be said in favor of the English birth-place. As to his baptism, if the suggestion of the missing cipher in his own Bible record be correct, and the date of the christening be April 30, and not April 3, it is possible that his parents may have crossed the Atlantic just as soon after his birth as his mother's health permitted, and that their son George was baptized in his Virginia home.

I am inclined to think, however, that in ascribing

Washington's birth to "Westmoreland, England," the Rev. Joseph Abbott (unless Mr. Lambe's memory was at fault) must have had the Virginia Westmoreland in his mind, and thus been misled as to the Ball and Washington families. The north of England shire that is associated with the Washingtons is Durham, from a village in which county the name is said to be derived. But that was at an earlier stage of their history. The parents of George Washington never, as far as I can find, took up their abode in the English Westmoreland. Cookham in Berkshire, is the place with which the story of the English nativity is connected from first to last.

By Mr. Henry Mott.

AMEDA—SPRUCE—SASSAFRAS.

AMEDA.—In Cartier's account of his voyage, 1535, he speaks of a tree by this name, having marvellous curative powers, but does not attempt to identify it with any tree known to him or his fellow-voyagers.

In "Hakluyt's Voyages," Edit. 1600 (p. 227-234), it is said to be the "*Sassafras;*" a tree well-known to have been in demand, on European shores, for sanitive purposes, in early days.

The word is otherwise written by different authors—*Annedda, Haneda.*

In Parkman's *Pioneers of France*, he says:—"This valuable tree seems to have been the spruce." The authority of Hakluyt is cited to show that the tree called *Ameda* or *Annedda*, reported to have cured Cartier's followers of the scurvy, was the sassafras. Hakluyt had no information, except that derived from Cartier's narrative. He apparently conjectures the tree to have been the *sassafras*, because, in his time, the sassafras was supposed to have curative properties. It is certain, however, that the tree was an evergreen, as the Frenchmen are said to have made a decoction of its leaves, in the month of December, when

the sassafras, a deciduous tree, is without leaves. Cartier's tree is described as having been as large as an oak. As the pine, the hemlock, or the balsam-fir are not very likely to have been chosen for such a purpose, I am inclined to think, with Faribault, that the *spruce* is the tree in question, its leaves having long been used in Canada for making decoctions for sanitary and other uses.

Mr. L. O. Armstrong has discovered the following documents amongst the papers of his father, the late Hon. Justice Armstrong, of Sorel:

DEAD RIVER, ABOUT 160 MILES FROM QUEBEC, Oct. 13, 1775.

DEAR SIR:—I am now on my march for Quebec, with about 2,000 men, where I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you soon, this detachment is designed to co-operate with Gen. Schuyler, to frustrate the unjust and arbitrary measures of the Ministry, and restore liberty to our bretheren in Canada, to whom we make no doubt our exertions in their favour will be acceptable, and that we shall have their assistance or at least their friendly wishes, as the expedition is undertaken at the request of many of their principal inhabitants. I beg the favour of you on the receipt of this which will be delivered you by one Eneas, a faithful Indian, that you'll immediately write me by him of the disposition of the Canadians, the number of troops in Quebec, by whom commanded, and every advise you have received from Gen. Schuyler, and the situation of matters in general, what ships are at Quebec, and in short, what we have to expect from the Canadians and merchants of the city.

Whether any advice has been received of the march of this detachment. If any gentleman of my acquaintance will undertake to meet me on the road, he will be received with pleasure and handsomely rewarded. The enclosed letter to Gen. Schuyler, I beg favour of you to forward by express which charge shall be reimbursed you with thankfulness.

I am, with much esteem,

Dear Sir, your friend and very humble servant,

B. ARNOLD.

To JOHN MERCIER, ESQ.,
or in his absence to
Captain Gregory or Mr. John Maynard.

HEADQUARTERS, MONTREAL, 19th March, 1776.

SIR:—Madamoiselle De Ramezay having obtained an order from Gen. Wooster to oblige the inhabitants on her lands to pay their

rents and other dues, six of which are on the Continental service in your regiment, and the General has referred her to you for payment of the same. I therefore enclose you their accounts to enable you to stop it out of their pay, with an acquittance to each on such payment being made, the amount is £187 2s., as she mentions you as her particular friend, she hopes you will not neglect her interest.

I am, Sir, etc.

Doit Loizeau, pour deux Terres	£	57	12
Bergeron, une terre et une Billet		34	9
Denis Parent		12	3
Lampe		12	3
Savary		20	15
Bazille Mailhot, compte et Arérages		50	
	£	187	2

COL. JAS. LIVINGSTON.

Mr. L. P. Sylvain, of Ottawa, to whose watchful zeal the Parliamentary Library largely owes its collection of early Canadian works, sends the following, in answer to a request for the deriviation and translation of Hochelaga:

In Shea's translation of Charlevoix, Vol. I, p. 118, footnote, I find—"The form Hochelaga is clearly Huron—Iroquois; see *Faillon*, Histoire de la Colonie franc, I. p. 524-29. The name Hochelaga presents diffIculties—Champlains ascribes it to the Sault St. Louis —Voyages, p. 10.

"The modern Iroquois name of Montreal, as given in the books printed there by Mr. Marcoux and others, is *Tiohtiaki* which Mr. Faillon (I. p. 16) thinks the same as *Tutanaguy* mentioned in Cartiers third voyage as between Hochelaga and Sault St. Louis. The Huron name, as given by Potier (Elementa Gramm: Huron) was Teokia-i, equivalent to Teokiaqui, the latter part being perhaps the name incorrectly written Hochelaga, which contains a labial clearly intrusive. The termination may be *ga* for people."

Ferland says, "Les mots conservés par Cartier appartiennent tous au Huron." Hist. du C., I. p. 31.

In Cusq's Lexique de la Langue Iroquoise, p. 188, you will find that Hochelaga means "à la chaussée des castors" at the Beaver dam, the only translation I have been able to find after much enquiry.

Hochelaga had completely disappeared, when Champlain visited the spot, the name had vanished also, and is used by Champlain only when he quotes Cartier.

Hochelaga is pronounced to-day: *Oserake.*

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EVENTS IN CANADA FROM 1812 *TO* 1815.

[Condensed from a paper read by MR. J. P. EDWARDS before the Society for Historical Studies, Montreal, 11th May, 1887.]

The hostile feeling of the people of the United States towards Great Britain which was engendered in the war of independence, showed itself from time to time after that until it again assumed the form of active warfare in 1812. It is unnecessary to trace the incidents which expressed this feeling, such as the closing of the American ports to British commerce, the failure of Erskine's negotiations, the disputes arising from England's claim to the right of search and similar matters, but there are some facts comparatively unknown which may be mentioned.

In May, 1811, an American officer, Commodore Rogers, commanding the forty-four gun frigate, the "President," attacked a British eighteen-gun sloop, the "Little Belt," off the Massachusetts coast. The smaller vessel made a short resistance, but was soon reduced to a very crippled condition. There was something peculiar about this affair. The American commander had evidently mistaken the "Little Belt" for some other vessel, as, after the fight, on learning the name of the British commander, he expressed surprise and regret, and offered all possible assistance to the sloop,

although it is needless to say this was not accepted, and she made the best of her way into Halifax. This may perhaps be explained by a fact mentioned, I believe, only in a number of the *Montreal Gazette* for 1813, namely, that Rogers, who was a Scotchman, had been in the British merchant service, but had been impressed into a man-of-war, from which he deserted and entered the American navy. It is quite possible he may have been the victim of cruel treatment by the commander of the British vessel, and have mistaken the captain of the "Little Belt" for this officer. Rogers was court-martialled, but acquitted, popular sentiment being very strong in his favor. Unlike the action of the British Government in the "Leopard" and "Chesapeake" affair, no reparation appears to have been offered by Mr. Jefferson's administration, although they disavowed any hostile intent.

The causes which led to the declaration of hostilities are to be found in the President's Message to Congress of 1st June, 1812, and the manifesto of the Prince Regent dated 9th January, 1813. To sum up all—apart from any prejudice—it appears that the United States forced on the war, and that the capture of Canada was looked on as a foregone conclusion. The formal declaration of war was made by the U. S. Government on the 18th June, 1812. The populations on the opposite sides of the frontier in America were about eight millions and three hundred thousand, or about twenty-seven to one against Canada. In combatants the United States put about sixty thousand in the field, while Canada was protected by about four thousand regulars, who, with the Canadian militia and Indians, brought the effective force up to about ten thousand.

The deficiency in numbers was to some extent compensated by the energy and ability of Major-General Isaac Brock, who has been well called a worthy successor of Wolfe. Brock was young and thoroughly versed in his position, far-seeing, totally regardless of personal fatigue

and exposure, and with that natural capacity for command, without which military genius goes for little. Unlike Wolfe, he was in command of an army wretchedly inferior in numbers to his opponents, with a vast stretch of frontier line to defend, and moreover held inferior rank to a man to whom he was as much superior as is possible; while Wolfe had complete and sole control of his army. Both men combined high military attainments with an unswerving devotion to their King, and the honor of the British arms has never known abler defenders. Both fell in action leading on their men to victory, and the dying words of each were orders for their successors in command.

Brock had been in Canada with his regiment—the 49th—from 1802, and had since his arrival thrown himself into the defensive and military improvement of the Colony with unusual spirit. There is one fact that has not been stated by most writers on Quebec, which may be mentioned in this connection, namely:—that the most important citadel battery at Quebec (where the King's Bastion now stands) was planned and erected by Brock, at the time only an infantry officer; and while it was afterwards called the King's Battery by Sir James Craig, it was popularly known as Brock's, and a traveller visiting Quebec twelve years later gives it only the latter name.

It is interesting to note that the first man killed in this war on land was a loyal Indian.

The fighting began in July, 1812, and the following extract from a Montreal newspaper of the 12th of September records the reception which Gen. Hull and the other American prisoners taken at Detroit on the 16th of August received in this city:—"Last Sunday evening the inhabitants of this city were gratified with an exhibition equally novel and interesting.

"That Gen. Hull should have entered into our city so soon at the head of his troops rather exceeded our expectations. We were, however, very happy to see him, and re-

ceive him with all the honors due to his high rank and importance as a public character. The following particulars relative to his journey and reception at Montreal may not be uninteresting to our readers:

"It appears that Gen. Hull and suite, accompanied by about twenty-five officers and three hundred and fifty soldiers, left Kingston under an escort of one hundred and fifty men, commanded by Major Heathcot, of the Newfoundland regiment; at Cornwall, the escort was met by Capt. Gray, of the Quarter-master General's Department, who took charge of the prisoners of war, and from thence proceeded with them to La Chine, where they arrived about two o'clock on Sunday afternoon. At La Chine, Captains Richardson and Ogilvie, with their companies of Montreal militia, and a company of the King's from Lower Chine, commanded by Captain Blackmore, formed the escort until they were met by Col. Auldjo with the remainder of the flank companies of the militia, upon which Captain Blackmore's company fell out and presented arms as the General and line passed, and then returned to La Chine, leaving the prisoners of war to be guarded by the militia alone. The line of march then proceeded to the town in the following order:

1. Band of the King's regiment.
2 The first division of the escort.
3. General Hull in carriage, accompanied by Capt. Gray. Capt. Hull and Major Shekleton followed in the second, and some wounded officers occupied four others.
4. The American officers.
5. The non-commissioned officers and soldiers.
6. The second division of the escort.

It unfortunately proved rather late in the evening for the vast concourse of spectators assembled to experience the gratification they so anxiously looked for. The inconvenience was, however, in a great measure, remedied by the

illumination of the streets through which the line of march passed. When they arrived at the General's house, the General was conducted in and presented to His Excellency Sir George Prevost, and was received with the greatest politeness, and invited to take up his residence there during his stay at Montreal. The General appears to be about sixty years of age and is a good looking man, and we are informed by his friends that he is a man of general information. He is communicative, and seems to bear his misfortunes with a degree of philosophical resignation that but few men in similar circumstances are gifted with. On Thursday last, General Hull with eight American officers left this city for the United States on their parole."

[The paper then proceeds to narrate the events of the war from the battle of Queenstown Heights, which was made memorable by the death of Sir Isaac Brock, on to the treaty of peace.

The essay formed one of a series read before the society in the session of 1886-87, which sketched briefly the whole history of Canada. As the papers were not intended to bring out new points, but rather to refresh the minds of the members upon those already well known, they did not contain much matter of particular interest, although they proved, of considerable benefit to the society. The concluding paragraphs of Mr. Edwards' paper refer to the bibliography of the period, a subject with which he is thoroughly acquainted, and upon which he is at present engaged. It is hoped that the result of his labors will be published at an early date, as it will undoubtedly be of great interest.—Ed.]

The literature bearing in this period is very extensive, but with few exceptions is worthless. To any one going closely into the results of the various engagements, taking the official number of both armies, official returns, etc., it will be impossible to arrive at the conclusions reached by

almost every American writer on the subject. These were evidently written to sell, and to tickle the natural palate of spread-eagleism. Even Ingersoll, the most voluminous writer on the war, and one of the latest, is totally wanting in veracity on many points. Two authors have proved honorable exceptions. Mr. Roosefelt's recent work on the Naval War of 1812 is one that deals with the subject in a calm and dispassionate manner, and in the two works published in 1813 and 1814 by Mr. Smith (an American resident in Canada when the war broke out, but who immediately returned to the States) we not only find his statements moderate and fairly accurate, but also many details which appear in no other work.

In England only one author—James—devoted special works to the subject; he published four—one in Halifax, N.S., in 1816, and three in England a few years later. These are much more reliable than the American ones, and Roosefelt himself is obliged to acknowledge that James has spared no pains to get at the actual official record of the various phases of the war. Still, he errs in allowing his British prejudices and contempt for Americans generally, to crop out unnecessarily in nearly every page of his works. The fact of only one author in Great Britain — that land of authors—writing upon the history of this three years war, shows how completely overshadowed its events were by the gigantic struggle of the Peninsular campaign; and this is further borne out by reference to the Annual Registers for those years, where the trouble with America does not occupy 5 per cent. of the space devoted to foreign occurrences.

Until 1814, practically no troops were sent out, none could be spared: and when we consider the victories won by the other half of the regular regiments then stationed in Canada and the scanty and undiciplined militia, against forces three to five times more in numbers, one cannot help thinking that if England had been in liberty to

put into the field more of the men of Albuera, Badajoz and Vittoria, the American frontier would have been swept from Detroit to the sea.

The most impartial histories of the war have been written and published in Canada, and yet they are the least known and read. Auchinleck's history—which first appeared in the Anglo-American Magazine in Toronto in 1855—is the best; but the Montreal work, Coffin's Chronicle of the War, would, had it been completed, have far surpassed Auchinleck's; the only volume published, being written in a masterly style, and containing matter from original manuscripts that appears in no other work. That the second volume never appeared is a great loss to Canadian bibliography. We have also Christie in 1818, Thompson in 1832—erroneously stated by Mr. Kingsford in his recent work on Canadian Archæology to be the first work printed in Upper Canada—Richardson in 1841, each devoting a specia volume to the war.

In 1815, appeared the "Letters of Veritas," and "the Canadian Inspector," works of rarity and interest by anonymous writers. Of Veritas, the writer in the Quarterly Review says,—"it contains within a small compass a greater body of useful information upon campaigns in the Canadas, than is any where else to be found."

The most unique work resulting from the war, and pretending to be a history of it, is one by a certain Gilbert J. Hunt, published in New York in 1816. This extraordinary book is written in the style of the Psalms, but it is to be regretted that while adopting the phraseology of David the writer has closely followed the method of Ananias. A good specimen of his style is his way of recording how the news of the declaration of war was received in Great Britain which occurs in the third chapter:—

"And it came to pass, that when the princes and the counsellors of Britain saw the decree, their wrath was kind-

led, and their hearts were ready to burst with indignation.

2. For verily, they say, this insult hath overflowed the cup of our patience; and now will we chastise the impudence of these Yankees, and the people of Columbia shall bow before the King.

3. Then will we rule them with a rod of iron; and they shall be unto us, hewers of wood and drawers of water.

4. For verily, shall we suffer these cunning Yankees to beard the mighty lion, with half a dozen fir-built frigates, the men whereof are but mere mercenary cowards—"bastards and outlaws"?

5. Neither durst they array themselves in battle against the men of Britain. No, we will sweep them from the face of the waters, and their names shall be heard no more among nations.

6. Shall the proud conquerors of Europe not laugh to scorn the feeble efforts of a few unorganized soldiers, undisciplined, and fresh from the plough, the hoe, and the mattock?

7. Yes, they shall surely fall; for they were not bred to fight as were the soldiers of the king.

8. Their large cities, their towns and their villages will we burn with consuming fire.

9. Their oil, and their wheat, and their rye, and their corn, and their barley, and their rice, and their buckwheat, and their oats, and their flax, and all the products of their country will we destroy, and scatter the remnants thereof to the four winds of heaven.

10. All these things, and more, will we do unto this froward people.

11. Neither shall there be found safety for age or sex from the destroying sword of the soldiers of the king

12. Save in those provinces and towns where dwell the friends of the king, for do they say, the king's friends are many.

13. These will we spare; neither will we hurt a hair of their heads; nor shall the savages of the wilderness stain the scalping-knife or the tomahawk with the blood of the king's friends.

14. Now it happened about this time that there were numbers of inhabitants of the country of Columbia whose hearts yearned after the king of Britain.

15. And with their false flattering words they led astray some of the friends of Columbian Liberty; for their tongues were smoother than oil.

16. Evil machinations entered into their hearts, and the poison of their breath might be likened into the deadly Bohon Upas, which rears its lofty branches in the barren valley of Java."

There was little of interest in the Colony apart from the war during the period of 1812 to 1815. In 1812 there were no more than six classical schools between Gaspé and Detroit—roads were few and poor.—Three newspapers existed in the upper Province, and six in the lower. In the latter Province an assembly met on the 21st of February, severely criticised Sir James Craig's administration, passed a new Militia bill, and continued its fight with the Council. The Militia thus organized was embodied in June, and the inhabitants, as a rule, responded cheerfully to the call, although some of them at Point Claire made armed resistance to the draft and had to be punished by a military force. The legislature again met in July of the same year, and in 1813, 1814 and 1815, but in its deliberations we find nothing of great importance, military matters absorbing nearly all its attention. The impeachment of the Hon. Justices Sewell and Monk may perhaps be mentioned. In the upper Province some trouble appears to have occurred in getting the Militia in the Niagara District to take up arms, the great majority in this District being natives of the United States.

The local events in Montreal during this period were not of a very interesting nature, the principal amusements seem to have been to watch the many American prisoners of war going through the City, the assemblies which were held nearly every winter, and the occasional balls given by the militia. Trade appears to have been largely in the hands of the auctioneers, whose advertisements occupied a large portion of the papers of the city, the *Gazette*, the *Herald*, and the *Courant*, the former of which was half in English and half in French; the latter two entirely English.

The old fortifications were being removed; and the whole ground on the north side of St. James Street between Place d'Armes Hill and St. Peter Street, the most valuable land in the city to-day, was now for the first time being offered for sale in lots by the Crown.

John Molson applied in Janury, 1812, for the exclusive right to run a steamboat on the St. Lawrence, and followed this up by launching the "Swiftsure," a steamer which ran regularly between Montreal and Quebec. We also notice that this year the famous Sir John Johnson was fined ten shillings and costs for not removing the snow from his side-walk.

In November a very important pastoral letter was issued by Monseigneur Plessis, the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec, recapitulating the glorious victories of Lord Wellington in Spain and General Brock in Upper Canada, urging the militia to zeal in their military duties, an ordering the Te Deum to be sung in all churches in the Province in comemmeration of the success of the British arms against France and the United States. This mandate had doubtless a very important effect in inciting the French militia to that degree of efficiency and bravery in action, evinced at Chateauguay and Lacolle.

Nothing of particular local interest occurred in the following year; but in 1814, we find the 21st of April and the 10th of September observed throughout the Province as

special days of thanksgiving for the results of the war in the Peninsula and Canada.

On the 9th of October, the Church of England cathedral was formally opened.

On the following day a sad, imposing sight might have been witnessed—nine soldiers were marched out on to the common, which is now Griffintown, to be shot for desertion; but at the last moment the punishment of seven was commuted, two only suffering the death penalty.

In December a fire insurance company seems to have been started, and on the 17th we find published the list of subscribers.

In 1816, with the return of peace, the militia regiments were disbanded, and vast quantities of military stores were auctioned off in this city. Sir George Prevost was ordered home in April for an enquiry into his conduct, and was succeeded by General Drummond.

The agitation to have the city streets lighted in some way, appears to have occupied the civic mind this year to the exclusion of every other topic.

The state of literature during these four years was not very dazzling. Three papers were published in Montreal: in 1813, a fourth, *Le Spectateur*, made its appearance, and lasted for eight years. In the spring of the same year a monthly magazine was projected by Samuel Foster, to be called *The Times, or Miscellaneous Magazine*, but I have been unable to find that any copies appeared.

I have no knowledge of any books or pamphlets published in the Upper Province during this period; Dr. Stracham's "Letter of Thomas Jefferson" 1815, though bearing no place of publication on title page, was probably printed by Wm. Gray, Montreal, as the same writer's thanksgiving sermon preached in York in June of the preceding year bears the name of that publisher. Those in Lower Canada seem to have been confined to the yearly Almanacs—con-

taining much valuable information—and some ten or twelve pamphlets, several of which were sermons. The only historically valuable publication bearing on the war was "The Letters of Veritas" before referred to.

Altogether, this period may be called an entirely military one, but it had a strong nationalizing tendency. It welded together, for common defence against an invader, all classes of the community from east to west; it proved the loyalty of the French-Canadian *habitant* and the American emigrant farmer to the British Crown; and it satisfactorily showed of what sturdy fighting stuff the average Canadian was made, which has since been fully borne out wherever Canadians have been in action.

NOTES ON THE INTENDANTS.

There are two strange, yet somewhat wide-spread, errors with respect to the Sovereign Council established in 1663 for the government of New France. The first is that the date of the royal edict creating the Council is March 21, 1663, instead of April (no day), 1663, which a little research will convince anyone is the correct date. This error may possibly have arisen from the erroneous reference to "the edict of March, 1663," in the royal declaration of June 5, 1675, which confirms the edict creating the Council. The other error is that according to this edict of 1663 the Council was to consist of the governor, the bishop, the intendant, etc.; whereas, the fact is that the edict makes no mention whatever of an intendent, although it appears that on the 21st of March a commission had issued appointing Robert to the office. Robert, however, did not come out to Canada; nor does it seem to have been intended that he should, if one may infer from the wording of Talons commission: "Considerant que ..... il est nécessaire d'établir en la charge d'intendant *sur les lieux*, une personne capable," etc.

No history of Canada makes any mention of another person of the name of Robert who, sixty years later, was appointed to succeed Bégon as intendant. Like his namesake, he, too, never came to Canada. He sailed from La Rochelle in the King's ship *Le Chameau* on the 24th of June, 1724, and died that very day while the shores of France were still in sight. He was buried at sea, and his widow and young son continued on to Quebec. Here they were treated with every mark of kindness, thanks chiefly to Madame de Vaudreuil, who came out on the same ship, and who, on their return to France soon after, wrote to recommend them to royal favor.

Equally unfortunate was De Chazel who was next appointed Bégon's successor. He perished on the 27th of August, 1725, in the wreck of *Le Chameau*, near Louisbourg, the famous wreck of which Charlevoix writes that in the course of a single night it brought more grief and loss upon the French colonies than they had suffered during twenty years of warfare.

In more than one history of Canada the name "Noroy" is given as that of the intendant of New France between 1682 and 1703, or else between 1685 and 1689. Yet there was never an intendant known by that name. Champigny was intendant from Sept. 23, 1686 to Oct. 5, 1702, and in the full enumeration of his titles—Jean Bochart, Seigneur de Champigny, Noroy, Verneuil, etc—is to be found the source of this mistake. These titles, however, do not appear in his commission. His signature was "Bochart Champigny."

CORVIA.

Notes.

Reminiscences of Old Montreal.

By Mr. John Horn.

The late Senator Thomas Ryan told the writer, that when a young man, and on a visit to Baltimore, he had the honor of dining with the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was then the last living representative of those who signed the famous Declaration of Independence.

In 1801 the first application to Parliament was made to lay down water pipes.

In 1805 an act passed for improving the navigation between Montreal and Quebec, and the establishment of Trinity House.

J. W. Dunscomb, of Quebec, is the only living representative of the first Montreal City Council, that met under the Hon. Peter McGill, Mayor, 1843.

Montreal, 23rd October, 1820.

This day a meeting of the citizens was held in the Court House, pursuant to advertisement in the public papers, to take into consideration the expediency of applying to the Legislature, at their next meeting; for an act of incorporation for the city of Montreal, Jacques Viger in the chair.

Boston and Montreal Mail Stages, 1807.

A passenger may go from Boston to Montreal, a distance of 312 miles, in four days and a half. This line is furnished with new and convenient stages, good horses, and careful drivers.

A printed notice of 25th November, 1815, says:—St. Paul street, east of the old market, is now lighted by twenty-two lamps, fixed at fifty-four feet distant. The cost of each lamp completely fitted up is not quite $7. S. Dawson was instrumental in bringing this improvement about.

Part of Notre Dame street was lit by lamps in 1816.

A wharf has been completed within the last year, extending nearly a mile in length, by which shipping of all denominations can be received on a perfect level with the landing, which is beautifully constructed of boarded flooring to a vast extent. A tax on the city at first unpopular.

Montreal, 1842.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED and for sale by Neilson & Cowan, No. 3 Mountain street, in 2 volumes, Royal 8vo., in boards, price 16s.,

THE HISTORY OF CANADA,
From its first discovery to the year 1791,
by William Smith.

☞ This work, which, in addition to its historical narrative, contains a mass of valuable documents no where else to be met with, was printed in 1815, but from unavoidable circumstances remained unpublished till the present time.

As there are but a few copies for sale *here*, those persons that are desirous of purchasing copies must make an early application for them.

Quebec, July 20th, 1826.

The above notice is copied from the Montreal *Herald* of the 9th August, 1826.

THE LATE ABBE BOIS.

(*From La Minerve.*)

M. Louis Edouard Bois, curé of Maskinongé, was one of the most distinguished and most remarkable members of our clergy, In heart as well as in mind he belonged to that phalanx of eminent men whose works have made so deep an impression on the ecclesiastical history of our country—the Plessis, the Holmes, the Parents, the Ferlands. It is to him that we are indebted, in a great measure, for those important historical undertakings which commenced with the publication of the Edicts and Ordi-

nances, to continue through the Relations of the Jesuits, the works of Champlain, the Collection of Manuscripts and the Judgments of the Sovereign Council.

Nearly all his writings remain in manuscript. Those which he has published are only the least of those upon which he lavished his midnight oil. We are thus able to look forward with eagerness to the day when the enormous note books which he has left upon a number of scientific and historical questions shall see the light.

Born at Quebec the 11th September, 1815, Mr. Bois was ordained a priest on the 8th October, 1837. He has been curé of Maskinongé since 1848, and a member of the Royal Society of Canada since its foundation.

Publications Received.

Historical and Sporting Notes in Quebec and its Environs, by J. M. LeMoine. Fourth edition, 1889. Quebec: L. J. Demers & Frère. Contains in part first: Quebec to Montmorenci—Quebec to Cap Rouge—Quebec to Indian Lorette—The Huron Chief—Château Bigot; and in part second: Lake St. John, the Land of the Wananish—Our Northern Trout Lakes—Summer and Winter Sports.

The Explorations of Jonathan Oldbuck, F.G.S Q., in Eastern Latitudes, by J. M. LeMoine. Quebec: L. J. Demers & Frère, 1889. One of the Sea Side Series, and refers to Canadian history, legends, scenery, sports.

Revue de la Société des Etudes Historique. Paris: Ernest Thorin, Publisher. 1889.—This review is published in monthly parts under the direction of this Society, which is the successor of the old Institute of France, historical section.

The Cosmopolitan for August, 1889, contains an article on "Social Life at Ottawa," with several portraits and other illustrations. Every article in this enterprising magazine is now illustrated.

The Western Journalist.—A new paper published in Chicago, intended to "open a field whereon the journalists of America may do battle for their theories and their practices." The first number is 20th July, 1889.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

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COLONIAL PRIVATEERS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshank.

Although the Liverpool Packet was by far the most successful and renowned of all British-American private-armed vessels, several others seem to have been handled during the contest with almost an equal degree of skill and audacity. Colonial merchants were the principal sufferers from hostilities, and they naturally turned their attention to the simplest and most direct means of re-imbursing themselves for their losses. Accordingly, in a few months after the declaration of war, privateers were fitted out at St. John, N.B., and St. John's, Newfoundland, as well as at Halifax and Liverpool, N.S., and others were equipped at Antigua, Jamaica, St. Christopher and Nassau.

The policy pursued by the Government of the United States tended to provide for the security of its merchant shipping by endeavouring to withdraw it from the ocean altogether before the commencement of hostilities. On the 4th of April, 1812, an Act was passed laying an embargo upon all vessels in its ports, except those engaged in the coasting trade, for the next ninety days. But the extravagant prices offered for breadstuffs and other natural products

in Europe induced numerous violations of this law, and when war was actually declared, not less than seventy of their vessels lay in Cadiz Bay alone, and nearly an equal number in the Tagus. The commerce between the States at the same time was almost entirely conducted in coasting vessels, owing to the wretched condition of the roads. The embargo was, however, justly regarded as a certain precursor of war, and the shipyards of most American ports resounded with preparations for the approaching conflict. Accordingly, when the official declaration of war was published, many privateers were already armed, manned and even provided with the necessary letters of marque, authorizing them to capture British vessels.

The British Admiralty authorities during the next three months were satisfied with the publication of an order directing that ships sailing under the flag of the United States should be detained, and refrained from issuing the customary letters of reprisal, in the vain hope that, upon hearing of the revocation of those orders-in-council which had been cited as the main reason for hostilities, the United States would annul its declaration. Sir John Sherbrooke, the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, went so far as to issue a proclamation recommending the inhabitants of that province to abstain from molesting the goods and coasting vessels belonging to the people of the adjacent States, as long as they abstained from disturbing them.

But the depredations of American privateers in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy soon provoked retaliation, and in August, 1812, the privateer *Fly*, of St. John's, Nfld., sent in an American brig and two schooners, and, shortly afterwards, the *Nonsuch*, of Halifax, a small schooner, mounting five guns, with a crew of thirty men, arrived with two valuable ships. The *General Smyth*, of St. John, N.B., also carried several prizes into that port, besides sending three, measuring 385 tons, into Halifax. But Admiral Sawyer, in command of the Halifax station, in

pursuance of the policy of conciliation inculcated by the Government, released several coasting vessels taken by ships of his squadron, and, on the whole, seems to have discouraged privateering. The seamen of the Bahamas were subjected to less restraint, for no less than eight privateers had sailed from Nassau prior to the 1st of September, and seventeen prizes taken by them had arrived, six having been taken by the schooner *Caledonia*.

During the last half of the year 1812, the British cruisers on the Halifax station took more than thirty American privateers, several of which are large and swift-sailing schooners of the *Baltimore Clipper* type, specially built for the purpose, generally mounting sixteen or eighteen guns, and manned with 150 or 200 men. One of the finest of these, the *Thorn*, of Marblehead, captured by the *Shannon* on the last day of October, was commissioned as the *Sir John Sherbrooke*, and sailed from Halifax on her first cruise early in March, 1813. On the 16th she fell in with a fleet of small vessels, bound from Carolina to Boston, and took two schooners and three sloops with valuable cargoes, and, before returning to port, had manned fourteen prizes. As soon as her crew was recruited, she reappeared on the New England coast and, on the night of the 31st of March, a smack, taken and manned by her, cut a schooner and a sloop out of Tarpaulin Cove. Cruising afterwards in company with H. B. M. *Rattler* and *Bream*, eleven vessels were taken between the 5th and 7th April, and, a few days later, the boats of the *Sherbrooke* cut two sloops out of Holmes' Hole. Her third cruise was attended with equal success. On the 18th May she re-took the *Gen. Hodgson* and *Hetty*, prizes to the Boston privateer *Alexander*, and the *Paragon*, a prize of the *America*, and captured the brig *Columbia*. Having patroled the coast of Massachusetts for two weeks, on the 26th of the month she fell in with and recaptured the ship *Duck*, of Waterford, a prize to the *Governor Plumer*, of Portsmouth, N.H., a powerful privateer, carrying six guns and a

crew of about one hundred men. Taking out of the prize as volunteers fifty Irish laborers, emigrating to Newfoundland, the *Sherbrooke* immediately steered in pursuit of the American privateer, which was overtaken next day on Jeffrey's shoal and captured after a short action.

Two days later, the *Sherbrooke* fell in with the frigate *Shannon* cruising of Boston, and, finding her short of men, lent Captain Brohn twenty-two of her Irish volunteers, thus enabling him to fight his famous battle with the *Chesapeake* on the 1st of June. The next recorded capture by the privateer was the schooner *Franklin*, and on the 16th of June her boats, in company with those of the brig of war *Emulous*, cut out the ship *Loyal Sam* from Portland harbour and she finally returned to Halifax, bringing with her a very valuable prize loaded with cotton and indigo.

Another very successful Halifax privateer was the *Retaliation*, formerly the *Revenge*, of Salem, mounting five guns, and manned by a crew of forty men. In March, 1813, this vessel cruised for several days in Massachusetts Bay, in company with the *Liverpool Packet* and the schooner *Crown*. Early in that month these vessels took three sloops off Great Egg Harbour and blockaded fifteen sail of coasters in Chatham. On the 19th the *Retaliation* took the brig *Victory* and drove the schooner *Betsey* on shore, on the following day, she destroyed the schooner *Zenith*, and on the 21st, added another schooner to her list of prizes. A few days later, the schooners *Wasp* and *Sally* and the sloop *Fame* were sent by her into St. John's, Nfld. The *Crown* also made several prizes, but was soon after taken by the *Increase* privateer, of Bristol, R.I., a much larger vessel.

The *Dart*, of St. John's, Nfld., Capt. Harris, formerly the *Actress*, of New Haven, a schooner of only 48 tons, armed with four small guns, and carrying a crew of twenty-nine officers and men, bid fair for a time to rival the reputation of the *Liverpool Packet*.

On the 9th June, 1813, she returned to St. Johns from a

cruise of seventeen days duration, bringing with her the ship *Cuba*, the privateer-built schooner *Washington*. the schooner *Experiment* and sloop *Joanna*. Several prizes were taken in the course of a second cruise, and not less than fourteen during a third in July, the last being captured when the privateer had but three officers and four men remaining on board, the rest of her crew being absent in the prizes. In September she was observed off Newport with a ship, a brig, a schooner and a sloop in company, all being prizes, and on the 24th of that month chased away the Salem privateer *Orange* on Fox Island in Machias Bay, where the latter vessel was destroyed by the boats of the *Emulous* and *Bream*. Finally, on November 3rd, her arrival at Liverpool is recorded, after having taken six vessels in her October cruise.

In May, 1813, the *Star*, of St. John's, Nfld., returned to that port from a cruise of twenty-two days, having taken five prizes, all of which were safely brought in.

The *Fly*, of St. John's, captured six schooners and sloops off Marblehead in June, and in September brought in the brig *Diamond* and sloop *Dolphin*.

The victory of the Shannon over the Chesapeake was naturally the subject of great rejoicing in Colonial ports, and of the privateers fitting out when the captured frigate was brought in; one received its name from the successful ship, and another from its gallant commander. The *Juliana Smith*, a privateer schooner, late of Boston, taken by the frigate Nymphe, armed with four small guns, became known as the *Broke*. Late in July this vessel cut out the sloops *Fair-play* and *Harriet*, from Tennant's Harbour; on August 1st, she took three sloops; on the 5th, two more, a schooner and a packet; on the 8th, the schooner *Dart*, and on the 9th, another sloop. Under the latter date, the correspondent of a Boston newspaper, writing from Portland, Maine, said:— "The British picaroon *Broke*, of four guns, continues to capture coasters and other vessels with impunity at the

very entrance of the harbour. On Tuesday and Wednesday, August 3rd and 4th, she made a number of captures in sight of town. One coaster was taken within a mile of the lighthouse and another outside Whitehead. The fort on Horse Island fired several shots at the privateer, but they fell short and she fired two shots in bravado in reply."

The *Growler*, of Salem, re-named the *Shannon*, mounted originally fifteen guns, with a crew of 100 men. Her first cruise, under British colours, undertaken in October, 1813, proved remarkably successful, and when she took her sixteenth prize in Sandy Bay, on the 2nd November, she had but six men remaining on board. In December she again put to sea and made a number of valuable captures.

A Baltimore clipper schooner, the *Tour*, of 14 guns was commissioned at Halifax in August as the *Wolverine*. Leaving port on the 5th September, her first prize, a chebacco boat, arrived two days afterwards. On the 10th December she was reported cruising off Cape Ann, where she took the schooner *Camden*, being her fifteenth prize since commencing her cruise, and then having five captured vessels in company.

The *Matilda*, of Annapolis, made a very successful cruise in August, 1813. On the first day of that month, she captured the schooner *Mayflower*, and three days later took the *Flora*, which was ransomed for $700. On the 17th, the schooners *Nymph*, *Unicorn* and *Lydia* and the sloops *Alligator* and *William*, were captured, and she returned to Annapolis with her prizes.

Probably the smallest of all Nova Scotia privateers was the *Weasel*, of Halifax, which was armed with a single gun and carried a crew of only eight men, yet on the 21st July, 1813, this diminutive cruiser brought in two schooners and a sloop as prizes, and in September sent in the sloop *Don Carlos* and another schooner.

On the Atlantic coast of the Souther States, the privateermen of New Providence were busy throughout the year

and made a great number of prizes. Many of these were sham neutrals, sailing usually under Spanish colours. The most successful of the Nassau cruisers, were the *Dash*, Capt. John Pinder, carrying one gun and thirty men, and the *Mars* which mounted three guns. In her various cruises the former vessel made upwards of thirty captures, some of them being of great value, and between the 2nd December, 1813, and the 23rd of the following February, the *Mars* took and sent into port, as prizes, ten ships, four brigs and four schooners, returning to Nassau several times meanwhile to fill up her crew, and resuming her station as soon as this was accomplished. Havana merchants interested in the contraband trade convened indignation meetings and protested vehemently, but the Bahama prize-courts readily found sufficient grounds for the condemnation of their vessels. In the Gulf, the seamen of Antigua and St. Kitts were quite as active. Forty sail of prizes were sent into the latter island between the 18th February, 1813, and the 24th of the ensuing April, and about an equal number into Antigua, most of them having been taken by local privateers, two of which had blockaded the Swedish island of St. Barts, the headquarters of neutral trade in the West Indies, for several weeks.

Already, on the 5th June, 1813, *Poulson's American*, the chief leading newspaper published in Philadelphia, announced at the head of its shipping columns that: "To keep up an appearance of commerce and navigation we shall report all fishing boats and smacks as they arrive at the port." Six months later, the *Boston Messenger* (Dec. 15) remarked: "The melancholy list of captures by the enemy hourly increases. Since the beginning of November, we have heard of more than one hundred captures on the coast of the United States by British cruisers, and of the arrival of only two or three American captures. Many of the vessels taken by the British had valuable cargoes."

By the close of the year 1813, even the coasting and bay-

trade of the United States was practically extinguished, and most of the ocean-going vessels that had escaped capture or destruction, were dismantled and laid up. Accordingly, although the number of colonial privateers continued to increase, their exertions were no longer rewarded with equal success.

On April 10th, 1814, the *Shannon* appeared off Gloucester Mass, and took a schooner and the same night her boats cut another out of the harbour of Manchester. In May, the same vessel made another tolerably successful cruise.

The *Retaliation*, Capt. Harrington, is recorded as having taken three large schooners on the 12th June, and during July and August the schooner *Lively*, cruising about Nantucket shoals, made many prizes. A Boston paper mentions the capture of the schooner *Nancy* on November 11th, by the *Rover*, of Liverpool, N.S., when the captain of the privateer stated that he had taken thirteen coasters within three days, and sent in ten of them. In January, 1815, the same vessel again appeared in Massachusetts Bay and made several captures. The arrival of the *Wolverine* at Liverpool, about the same time, with three out of five prizes is duly chronicled. Another came in a week later, and the fifth was cast away on Cape Cod. As late as the 15th February, mention is made of the capture of three sloops and a schooner by the *Lunenburg*, of Annapolis, a tiny schooner carrying three small guns, and sixteen men. Besides the vessels already enumerated, a schooner equipped at Liverpool, and named in allusion to the number of her proprietors, the *Saucy Sixteen*, made a single cruise of six weeks duration, which was so successful that the proceeds from the sale of her prizes amounted to $1,200 for each of the stockholders.

NOTE.—A list of colonial privateers may not be without value. The following one is, I believe, tolerably accurate and complete:—

HALIFAX.
Crown
Nonsuch
Retaliation
Shannon
Weasel
Wolverine

ANNAPOLIS, N.S.
Lunenburg
Matilda

LIVERPOOL.
Liverpool Packet

Lively
Rolla
Rover
Saucy Sixteen
Sir J. Sherbrooke
Telegraph

ST. JOHN, N.B.
Broke
Gen. Smyth

ST. JOHN'S, NFLD.
Dart
Fly

Star

ANTIGUA.
Amity
Eliza McKay
Fortune of War
Rambler

ST. KITTS.
Louisa

NASSAU, N.P.
Brilliant
Caledonia

Dash
Francis
Jas. & Charlotte
Java
Mars
Midge
Rakes' Delight
Rolla
Theodore
Two Brothers
Venus
Wellesley

THE STORY OF A PICTURE.

(BY MR. P. GAGNON, QUEBEC.)

SOME time ago I had the honor of making the acquaintance of a venerable Curé in the diocese of Three Rivers, whom our historians often consult, and always with advantage.

Amongst the valuable bits of information which I gathered from his lips, was one which from its legendary tone will probably be of interest to the readers of *Canadiana*.

It refers to the painting of the Immaculate Conception, which is to be seen over the High Altar in the Cathedral at Quebec.

It is well known that the magnificent paintings which adorn the walls of the Cathedral at Quebec, as well as those in the Ursuline Chapel, came for the most part from old France, where at one time during the horrors of the French Revolution, there were barbarians who looted the monastries and churches, and sold their spoil for next to nothing.

It is also a familiar fact that a French priest named Desjardins thought he could not do better than buy a large number of these master-pieces and send them to Canada to

his brother, then chaplain of the Hotel Dieu, who in turn bestowed them on the chapel of the Seminary,* th Quebec Cathedral, the Chapel of the Ursulines, and some country churches. But it is perhaps not so well known that one of the paintings in the Quebec Cathedral—the Immaculate Conception—hung above the High Altar, and after the style of Lebrun, has a history quite different from that of its companions, and consequently a history unique which is not lacking in interest.

The following statement gives the facts I learned from the scholarly old gentleman as I recollect them, with the addition of a few notes from other sources:—

Those who have carefully examined the picture of the Immaculate Conception over the High Altar in Quebec Cathedral will not have failed to notice the following inscription:

"Donné par Fran. Lemaistre, Ecur., Lieut.-Gouverneur du district de Gaspé, etc., etc."

This Francis Lemaistre, born in the Island of Jersey, came to this country after the Conquest. He was at first Secretary to Cramahé (*a*), then Colonel in Carleton's army in 1775. The accounts of the siege mention him with credit.

He afterwards became military secretary and aide-de-camp to Haldimand (*b*), and filled the same offices under his old commander Guy Carleton, who returned to Canada as Governor-General for the second time in 1786 with the title of Baron Dorchester (*c*).

*This chapel was burned on the 1st January, 1888, without any of these magnificient paintings being saved.

(*a*) H. T. Cramahé, succeded in 1770 Guy Carleton, as president of the Council and was named in the following year, Lieut.-Governor of the Province, a position which he held until Carleton's return in 1774.

(*b*) Although Haldimand's commission was dated 18th Sept., 1777 (17 Geo: iii.) he did not arrive in Quebec until 30th June 1778. He left Quebec in 1784 to return to England.

(*c*) Lord Dorchester was Governor from 22nd April 1786 to the summer of 1796, when he returned to England.

Young Lemaistre, thanks to some lucky chance of which we now know nothing, made the acquaintance of a Miss Stuart (or Stewart) who had joined the Roman Catholic Church, and was then a boarder with the Ursuline Sisters at Quebec.

These two young hearts believed that they were made to love each other. They sighed but to see each other and for opportunities to exchange the blissful words that go with lovers sighs.

Unfortunately young Lemaistre was not a Roman Catholic, and he was frequently not a little embarrassed by the rules of the Ladies of the Ursuline Convent regulating the hours for the reception of visitors, their relationship, etc. He thus cast about to secure the influence of some persons who could assist him, either by facilitating his reception in the drawing-room of the Ursulines, or even by gently encouraging the young lady to respond to his affections.

At times, Governor Carleton and Bishop Hubert, after an interview—either at the Bishop's palace or the Castle of St. Louis—would take advantage of the occasion for a promenade together. Their secretaries, always at a respectful distance of course, must of necessity follow them faithfully. While the governor and bishop weighed the destiny of the country, young Lemaistre made overtures to Abbé Plessis, then secretary to the Bishop of Quebec. This worthy priest, readily understood the honest aspirations of his friend, commended his choice and pointed out to him his best course, at the same time promising the generous assistance of his influence. Indeed Mr. Plessis had taught Miss Stuart (or Stewart) the chief articles of religion before her conversion to Catholicism.

Everything went so well that there was some talk of a marriage between the lovers. This pleasant prospect was, however, marred by an unsurmountable obstacle. Young Lemaistre was a Protestant. . . . However, he decided

without much hesitation to become a Catholic. It is highly probable that Mr. Plessis learned his determination with pleasure, and gladly undertook to instruct him also in the chief articles of his creed.

At this interesting period of their overtures, it happened that Lemaistre was informed of his nomination to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Gaspé, with orders to leave immediately for England, where he should receive personal instructions from the Colonial Office. He owed this appointment of the English Government, to the influence of Lord Dorchester, who esteemed him very highly, and also of Richard Cumberland, a distinguished literary man who was well known, and at that time agent of Canada in England.

Young Lemaistre who could not refuse obedience to such an order, was thus without time to prepare himself to enter the catholic religion. However, he was unwilling to leave the country without completing that union so much desired. In some way which I cannot now explain, matters were arranged and the marriage took place. Thereupon the young couple without more delay set sail for England (*d*).

On his arrival at London, Francis Lemaistre was assured that he would soon receive his commission. Circumstances appear to have arisen which caused delay and led the young husband who soon became tired of waiting, to go with his wife upon a visit to his father in Jersey.

There the happy couple mingled with the other members of the family, and shared their labors and their joys. Lemaistre's father was an old sea dog. Like the greater part of the inhabitants of this island of the English Channel, he had passed a part of his life on ship-board. It will be remembered that even at that date, frequent cases of piracy were committed between vessels which met on the high seas. The seamen of the conquering ship pillaged the dis-

(*d*) The preceding events happened in the beginning of the summer of 1794; they returned to Canada in the same year.

armed vessel, and distributed the plunder more or less equally. Old Lemaistre must have had in his house some hiding place in which were concealed a number of varied objects.

One day old Lemaistre sent everybody out to work in the fields, and only kept in the house with him the young wife, who was to do the house-keeping as he expressed it. As soon as the house was empty, he led his daughter-in-law to the garret, and there showed her the spoil which he had won in battle. Evidently his intention was to make her a present, and amongst other things, he brought out several paintings which did not attract the young woman's attention. At last, however, he showed her, one which pleased her very much, and she put it aside with the remark that it was a beautiful picture. Did she admire it because it represented the Virgin of all Virgins? Did it please her because her cultivated taste recognised the master hand? As she put it aside, did she think of the Canadian priest who had taken so much interest in her, and to whom she could offer it as a token of her gratitude if ever she saw him again?

However this may be, it happened some time afterwards that Francis Lemaistre accompanied by his wife returned to Canada in his capacity of Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspé. Before settling in Canada, they came to Quebec to purchase certain supplies. The young lady did not delay to visit Abbé Plessis, the future prelate who had been so kind to her. After exchanging the usual enquiries as to her health, and also as to her spiritual welfare she presented the picture to the Abbé on behalf of her husband.

As soon as Abbé Plessis saw the beautiful picture, which he perceived was a masterpiece, he decided to have it placed above the high alter in the cathedal at Quebec.

About 1804, Francis Lemaistre having finished his term as Governor of Gaspé, returned to Quebec and died at his residence, St. Famille street, near the Hope gate, on the 14th February, 1805.

He was one of the Adjudants General of the Canadian Militia, and Superintendant of Marines and Fisheries on the Labrador coast. He appears to have died poor, as Madam Lemaistre after his death became house-keeper (*e*) to Mr. Laurent Bedard (*f*), Cure of St. Francis, Rivière du Sud, and then for Mr. C. J. Primeaux, the Cure of Varennes where she died I believe. In this last parish, she is spoken of as a fine lady, quite remarkable in her manners and extremely well informed.

(*Translated and adapted from L'Union Libérale.*)

(*e*) This lady was very likely housekeeper to all the Curés of this parish from Mr. Bedard to Mr. Primeaux, who, in 1834, left there to become Curé of Varennes.

(*f*) This priest died at St. François in 1810, and had been Curé of the same parish during 58 years.

Notes.

Kean was introduced at Quebec to four Indian chiefs, of the Huron tribe, from Lorette. He presented each with a medal, executed by Smillie, bearing the following inscription:—

"Presented
By Edmund Keane,
The British Actor.
To ——— ———,
A Chief of the Huron Indians,
October 5, 1826."

Have any of our numismatic collectors been able to secure one of these?

Pew for Sale.

An excellent pew (first class), being on the left in the first range, in the gallery of the Presbyterian church, St. Peter's street, elegantly lined with green cloth, stuffed cushions, and stools.

Montreal, 28th August, 1819.

An emigrant and his family, who embarked at Dublin on the 14th of April, arrived at Kingston yesterday morning, having made the passage, *via* Quebec, in the short space of thirty days.

Kingston, U.C., 15th May, 1827.

In pursuance of a public invitation, a meeting was held at Clamp's Coffee House (10 Capital street), Tuesday evening, when James Woolrich, Esq., being called to the chair, it was agreed to petition His Grace the Duke of Richmond to give his sanction to an intended application to the Legislature for procuring and to establish a General Hospital in this city. A committee of twenty was accordingly appointed to draw up the necessary petition.

Montreal, October 21, 1818.

CLUB.

The gentlemen who served in the Garrison of Quebec in the year 1775-6 are acquainted that their anniversary dinner, in commemoration of the 6th of May, 1776, will be held at Lane's Tavern, on Monday next, the 6th of May.

N.B.—Dinner will be on the table precisely at 5 o'clock.

By order,

THE HON. FRANCIS BABY,
JOHN COFFIN, SR.,
DR. DAVIDSON,
MR. JOHN BLACKWOOD,
} Stewards.

ANDREW CAMERON, Secretary.

When was the last of these dinners held, and who were present ? J. H.

CAPTAIN MARRYAT AT ST. EUSTACHE.

In the report of the visit of the Natural History Society of Montreal to St. Eustache on the 8th June, speaking of the old church and the fight which took place there in 1837, it was said :—" Among the participants in the fight was

" Captain Marryat, who achieved greater fame as a novelist " than as a soldier, and who described the battle of St. " Eustache for his English readers." I have before me "The Life and Letters of Captain Marryat," by his daughter, in two volumes, and on Vol. II., p. 64, is a letter by the Captain to his mother, dated at Montreal, December 18th, 1838, in which he speaks of his presence at St. Eustache during the battle, and says :—" I was going south " when I heard of the defeat of St. Denis, and the dangerous " position of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and " I considered it my duty as an officer to come up and offer " my services as a volunteer. I have been with Sir John " Colborne, the Commander-in-Chief, ever since, and have " just now returned from an expedition of five days against " St. Eustache and Grand Brulé, which has ended in the " discomfiture of the rebels," &c., &c.

But the battle of St. Eustache was fought on December 14th, 1837,—not 1838, as the letter referred to makes it. It appears amongst his correspondence in consecutive order, the letter immediately preceding it is dated " October, 1838," and the one following it is from " New York, January 7th, 1839." This is also addressed to his mother, and commences :—" I wrote to you about a fortnight back when I was at Montreal."

Where shall we look for accuracy in historical matters? As to the newspaper reporter speaking of Captain Marryat as a " soldier," that is of little moment, since every English schoolboy knows he was a captain in the " navy."

H. M.

Queries and Replies.

Which city published the *first* directory, Montreal or Quebec, and what year?

How did " Fletcher's Field," at the head of Park avenue, Montreal, get its name?

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. I. OCTOBER, 1889. No. 10.

THE QUEBEC SHIELD OF 1759.

I had the pleasure in recording, at pages 357-8, of *Quebec Past and Present*, published in 1876, under the heading

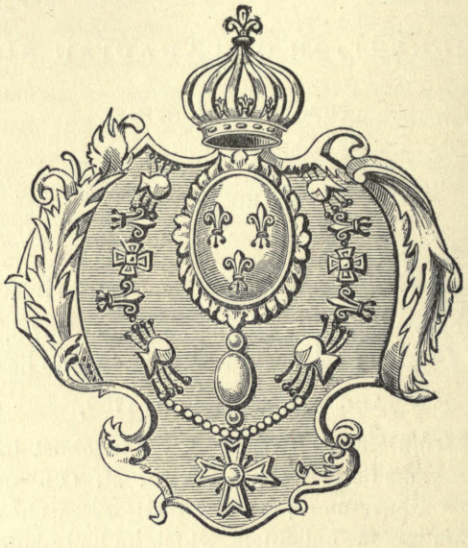
THE FRENCH SHIELD, 1759,

an antiquarian item, for which I was indebted to a young student of Canadian History, Mr. J. M. O'Leary, of the Post Office Department, Ottawa. His researches brought to light this famous old shield, which he had photographed. It is this fac-simile, reproduced in my work, which has led another student of Canadian History, Lieutenant Phillip Wolfe Murray, of H. M. Flagship "Bellerophon," recently in our port, to write a very interesting letter anent the old Quebec shield.

"On one of the three city gates existing at Quebec in 1759 (probably the most fashionable and most used under French rule, Palace Gate) was shown this trophy:

"The shield, made of oak, measures 44 by 36 inches. The cleaning and varnishing have brought out the colours of the stones in the crown, as well as the gilding and colour of the Order of *Saint Esprit*, which surrounds the *Fleur de Lis;* the scroll is coloured green, and the inscription is in gold letters on a black ground."

In a topographical description of Hastings, in Sussex, England, published in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for 1786, is found the first mention of the shield in the following paragraph:—



"The town hall, over the market place, is a modern building erected in 1700. In a frame hung up in it, is a long list of its Mayors, the first of which was sworn as such in the year 1560, before which time a Bailiff was the Chief Magistrate; the list commences in 1500. Near it the Arms of France is fixed, largely carved in wood, and painted with proper colours, with embellishments, and was presented to the Corporation by one of the officers (a jurat of Hastings) who was at the reduction of Quebec, where it was fixed over one of the gates of that city, all of which is inscribed on a tablet under the Arms."

In the same magazine for the year 1792, the following letter appears, bearing date the 20th January:—

"The shield represented in plate III, figure 3, was taken

from off one of the gates of Quebec, in the year 1759, and was presented by General Murray to the Corporation of Hastings. As this trophy commemorates so noble a conquest, and the inscription does honour to the General who made a present of it, the inserting of them in your magazine will oblige,

Yours, &c., LINCOLNENSIS.

"This shield was taken off one of the gates of Quebec at the time that a conquest was made of that city by His Majesty's sea and land forces, in the memorable year 1759, under the commands of the Admirals Saunders and Holmes, and the Generals Wolfe, Monckton, Townshend and Murray; which latter, being appointed the first British Governor thereof, made a present of this trophy of war to the Corporation, whereof he at that time was one of the jurats."

Since the above appeared in *Quebec, Past and Present*, nothing was heard of General Murray's historic Quebec shield, until recently, when the subject was brought up in a conversation between myself and Lieut. Wolfe Murray, R.N., a descendant of General James Murray, the first British Governor of Quebec. Lieut. Murray kindly offered to put in writing what he knew concerning an old shield, at Portsmouth, purporting to have been taken from one of the gates of Quebec, as appears from the following extract of a recent letter of his: –

"H. M. S. 'Bellerophon,'
"River St. Lawrence, 12th Sept., 1889.

"J. M. LE MOINE, ESQ.,
"Spencer Grange,
"Quebec.

"The trophy which you requested me to give you particulars of is at the Royal Naval College in Portsmouth Dockyard, and is the same as is shown in your work, except that on each side of the escutcheon project numerous representations of various weapons—guns, swords, pikes, flags,

and a thing I believe to be a powder scoop, but which I could never quite explain to my satisfaction. It has also at the bottom an inscription, the lettering of which indicate that it is at least 100 years old, stating that the trophy was taken from one of the gates of Quebec, giving the date, etc.

"I cannot help thinking that this is a different trophy to the one you have already given a representation of, for the following reasons: It is unlikely that the copy of a trophy would leave out such an essential part of it as the inscription and the arms I have described. No mention of Murray's name in the trophy, as there would probably be had he given it, and the legend on it been written afterwards.

"There were three gates, I believe, in old Quebec, and there is every raason to suppose that each would have the Arms of France over it. The fact of this one being in a naval building, which is 160 years old, and there not being any tradition of the reason of its appearance there, makes me think that this trophy must have been taken by some naval officer who was with the fleet in 1759, brought by him to Portsmouth and presented to the Naval College there, at which he may have studied, as it was used by naval officers as early as 1720. Your more acute criticism will enable you to judge if these suggestions of mine are worth anything. In the meanwhile I hope to get you a photograph of this soon. It would be interesting to know if there is a similar trophy still at Hastings, and to which town General Murray sent the one you have the copy of.

"Phillip Wolfe Murray, R.N."

This interesting extract suggests several queries. By whom and when was the Portsmouth shield taken? From which city gate? Were there more than one shield sent to England? Was there a trophy or shield hung to each city gate of Quebec, under French rule?

More anon,

J. M. Le Moine, F.R.S.C.

LORD VISCOUNT HOWE'S LAST RESTING PLACE.

(By *Mr. John Reade.*)

A dispatch from Ticonderoga, dated October 10, gave the following account of the finding at that place of certain human remains alleged to be those of Lord Viscount (George Augustus) Howe:—

"While laborers were engaged in digging a sewer in one of the principal streets of this village to-day they struck a tombstone. At the bottom of it was found a coffin, containing the bones of a human being. The stone was washed off and found to contain the inscription and date of death of Lord Howe. The skull was intact, but the rest of the bones were disjointed and considerably decayed. As soon as it had been learned about the village an immense crowd of people assembled, and many made desperate efforts to procure pieces of the bones. The coffin, which was of oak, was in a fairly good state of preservation, and it was with great difficulty that people were prevented from cutting it to pieces for relics. Several years ago the street where the remains were found was filled in several feet, which accounts for the depth of the coffin's location. The remains will probably be re-interred at once in the village cemetery."

A later telegram (October 15) from Ticonderoga gave the following additional particulars:

"On Thursday, October 3, while some men were digging a sewer near the Academy, one of the workmen discovered some bones and thought nothing of it at first, but upon digging further he came upon some old wood, which looked as though it might have been a coffin. He very soon afterwards noticed a large piece of plumbago with a large stone attached, near the head of the coffin. He took the stone home and the bones were gathered by different people as curiosities, little thinking that they were the remains of any such a person as Lord Howe. The stone was washed, and upon close inspection there were some letters seen. The

loose clay was taken out and finally the words 'In Mem. of Lo' Howe, killed Trout Brook.' These words were very likely cut in with some pointed instrument like a bayonet. The bones are partially decayed, and some are entirely gone. The spot where he was buried is a slightly elevated one, and about a quarter of a mile from where the old saw mill is supposed to have been. History says he was buried about a quarter of a mile from an old French saw mill, and by calculating distances this place where the remains were found would correspond about with that statement. Those who think that they are not the remains of Lord Howe say that if he was killed at Trout Brook, which is quite a distance from where the remains were found, that they would not have carried him so far away from where he was killed for burial, and they claim the remains were not buried so deep. Since that time a road has been cut through there, and as it has been worked upon several times, that would partially account for their being found so deep. It was first claimed that records were in possession of some people proving that the remains had been taken up and transferred to Albany by a barge the day after the battle and buried in St. Peter's, the old English church in that place. It has been stated that the church was rebuilt in 1859, and in 1802 that no remains were found where they were said to have been buried. That goes to show that the remains were never taken there. It is thought that the body was hastily buried the night before the great battle, and the stone was cut and buried as an identification after the battle. The battle resulted in a victory for the French, and so the English never returned for their great general."

Until this find was made known, it was considered as settled that Lord Howe's body had been, in the first place, laid in the vault of the Schuyler family and subsequently removed to Albany and deposited beneath the chancel of St. Peter's Church in that city.

In one of the latest authorities, the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Justin Windsor, the death of

Lord Howe is thus described: "A skirmish ensued, Howe fell, and the army was practically without a head." (V. 522.) In a foot-note on the same page the following references is made to the disposal of the body of the deceased General:—"Hutchinson (iii. 71) represents that Howe, in the confusion, may have been killed by his own men. On Howe's burial at Albany, and the identification of his remains many years after, see Lossing's *Schuyler*, I. p. 155; Watson's *County of Essex*, 88. He was buried under St. Peter's Church. G. Lossing in *Harper's Magazine*, xiv. 453."

As Dr. Bensen Lossing is cited as an authority on the subject, it may be of interest to reproduce what he says in *Harper's Cyclopedia of American History*, the account in which, we may suppose, is in substantial agreement with that of his *Schuyler* and the article in *Harper's Monthly*. In the work in question (I. 650, 651) he thus writes of the death of Lord Howe:—

"He led the right wing of the army in the expedition against Ticonderoga. At the head of an advanced party, he met a detachment of French troops in the forest between the foot of Lake George and Ticonderoga, and in a skirmish with them was killed at the outset. His body was taken back to the head of the lake, and thence to Albany by young Major Philip Schuyler, where it was entombed in the family vault of the Schuylers. There it remained several years. The remains were finally placed in a leaden coffin and deposited under the chancel of St. Peter's Church in Albany. When his remains were taken from the vault, his hair, which had been cut short as an example for his soldiers, had grown to long, flowing and beautiful locks. The province of Massachusetts erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. Lord Howe was elder brother of Richard and William Howe who came to fight the Americans in their war for independence. His fall was regarded as an ill-omen for the army, and produced almost universal consternation and languor. Mante says, 'With him the soul

of the expedition seemed to expire.' Abercrombie returned with his troops to Albany."

Of what followed Lord Howe's death, Parkman gives these particulars:

"The evil news was despatched to Albany, and in two or three days the messenger who bore it passed the house of Mrs. Schuyler in the meadows above the town. 'In the afternoon,' says her biographer, 'a man was seen coming from the north, galloping violently, without his hat. Pedram, as he was familiarly called, Colonel Schuyler's only surviving brother, was with her and ran instantly to enquire, well knowing that he rode express. The man galloped on, crying out that Lord Howe was killed. The mind of our good aunt had been so engrossed by her anxiety and fears for the event impending, and so impressed with the merit and magnanimity of her favorite hero, that her wonted firmness sank under the stroke, and she broke out into bitter lamentations. This had such an effect on her friends and domestics that shrieks and sobs of anguish echoed through every part of the house.'" (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii. 98.) Parkman does not say anything of the burial, but the passage just quoted confirms Lossing's account in so far as it makes clear the close intimacy existing between the Schuylers and the deceased hero.

Notes.

Mr. David Denne has received the following letter from Sheriff Ivory, of Inverness, Scotland, to whom he applied for information as to the Sergeant McLeod in whose plaid General Wolfe was carried from the Plains of Abraham, after he had received his fatal wound. The letter is interesting in view of the correspondence which has recently appeared in the Montreal *Daily Star*:—

To Sheriff Ivory,

6 White House Terrace, Edinburgh.

Portree, 26th August, 1889.

My Dear Sir,

I was duly favored with yours of the 18th inst., with

Mr. David Denne's letter of the 20th ult. It so happens that I am able to give the information about the Sergeant Donald MacLeod referred to, as he was a cousin of my mother, and his history, being a somewhat extraordinary one, attracted my attention. His father was a grandson of Sir Roderick MacLeod, of MacLeod, of Dunnegan. Sergeant MacLeod's uncle was Alexander MacLeod, who was sheriff of Skye, in 1773. His (Sheriff MacLeod's) brother John eloped with his wife, Isabella Macdonald, of Sleat, from a public school at Inverness, when they were sixteen and seventeen years of age respectively. As can easily be understood, Sergeant MacLeod's father's fortunes after this were not very bright, and he and his family fell into poverty. Donald, his son, the sergeant, on attaining his majority, enlisted, and turned out a good soldier, and skilled swordsman. His regiment was the Royal Scots, then commanded by the Earl of Orkney. Fought under the Duke of Marlborough, between 1704 and 1712, having been engaged at Blenheim and Ramillies. He was also at Sheriffmuir in 1720. He left the Royal Scots and became recruiting, and afterwards drill sergeant to Simon, Lord Lovat, in the raising of the independent companies, subsequently formed into the 42nd Regiment. He afterwards fought at Fontenoy, at Louisburg in America, and at the seige of Quebec, under General Wolfe, though then in his seventy-first year. At Quebec he was sorely wounded, and was invalided home in charge of the body of General Wolfe to Britain, in November, 1759. Twelve of his sons, he having been married three times, joined the army and navy. Donald's father John had two older sons, one of whom became a Captain of Marines, and was killed at Belleisle, in 1761. Donald was born at Uillinish, Skye, on 20th June, 1688, as appears from the parish register of Bracadale. There was a memoir published of Donald's career, but it is difficult to get. A sister of John, Donald's father, married a Mackinnon of

Mackinnon, and her daughter again married Ronald Macdonald of Clanronald. If I can be of any further service to Mr. Denne I shall be very glad.

I remain, yours very truly,

ALEC MACDONALD.

Donald was most probably buried at Bracadale, in Skye, but I am not aware that any gravestone marks his place of rest.

I am indebted to an antiquarian friend for the following, taken from the Quebec archives. It contains many well-known signatures in the past.

Quebec, October, 1889. J. M. LE MOINE.

DECLARATION AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

I, A. B., Do declare that I do believe there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever.

(Signed) "JNO. PAINTER, J.P.,
" "I. BLACKWOOD, J.P.,
" "GEO. WATERS ALLSOP, J.P."

Sworn before me the 3rd April, 1794, by virtue of Dedimus potestatem.

(Signed) DAVID LYND,
" MATHEW MACNIDER, J.P.

Sworn before me the twenty-first April, 1794, by virtue of a dedimus potestatem.

(Signed) DANID LYND,
" JOHN LEES.

Taken before me the 16th June, 1794, by virtue of a Dedimus potestatem.

(Signed) DAVID LYND,
" LEWIS CHAPERON.

Taken before me the 16th September, 1794, by Lewis Chaperon, by virtue of a Dedimus potestatem.

(Signed) DAVID LYND,
" PETER FRASER.

Taken before me the 18th May, 1795, by Peter Fraser, by virtue of a Dedimus potestatem.

(Signed) DAVID LYND,
" THOMAS ALLISON,
" RALPH ROSS LEWIN.

Taken before me the 4th June, 1799, by virtue of a Dedimus potestatem, by above named Thomas Allison and Ralph Ross Lewin.

(Signed) DAVID LYND,
" GEO. J. ALLSOPP.

Taken before me the 6th July, 1799, by virtue of a Dedimus potestatem by the above named George Allsopp.

(Signed) DAVID LYND,
" JAMES IRVINE.

Taken before me the tenth day of July, 1799, by virtue of a Dedimus potestatem.

(Signed) DAVID LYND,
" JOHN MURE.

Taken before me the nineteenth day of July, 1799, by virtue of a Dedimus potestatem.

(Signed) DAVID LYND.

NOTE.—The original is written on parchment.

THE FIRST STATUTE OF THE PARLIAMENT OF LOWER CANADA.

Anno Regni Georgii III., Tricesimo Tertio.

His Excellency the Right Honourable Guy Lord Dorchester, Governor.

"At the Provincial Parliament, began and holden at Quebec, the seventeenth day of December, Anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, in the thirty-third year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King Defender of the faith, etc.

"Being the first session of the first Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada."

CHAPTER I.

An Act to prevent the bringing of Gunpowder in ships or other vessels into the harbour of Montreal, and to guard against the careless transporting of the same into the Powder Magizines.

WHEREAS the bringing of gunpowder on board of ships or other vessels into the harbour of Mont- Preamble.

real is attended with great risk and danger to the town and alarming to the inhabitants thereof, by reason of the proximity of the buildings to the harbour or usual place of unloading at the Market Gate: And whereas the landing of gunpowder from on board of ships or other vessels, and the carting thereof into the Powder Magizines may, if not carefully attended to, be productive of the most fatal effects; Be it so enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the Assembly of Lower Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year of His Hajesty's reign, intituled an Act for making some effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America, and to make further provisions for the Government of the said Province."

No vessel to enter the harbour of Montreal with more than five pounds of gunpowder under penalty of ten pounds.

That from and after the publication of this Act it shall not be lawful for the master or masters of any ship or other vessel to enter into the harbour of Montreal, which shall be considered for this purpose to extend to the channel on the off-side of the little island near the town, with more than five pounds of gunpowder on board any such ship or other vessel, under the penalty of ten pounds current money of this Province; Provided always that it shall be lawful to all and every master or masters of ships or other vessels on arriving at the Cross or foot of the current near the town of Montreal, there to unload the gunpowder he or they shall have on board of their respective ships or other vessels.

Permission to unload gunpowder at the cross near Montreal.

On landing gunpowder boats to be covered with tarpaulings under penalty of 40s.

II. And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every master or masters of ships or other vessels, in the landing of gunpowder at Montreal, aforesaid, shall employ boats or battoes every and each of which, shall have sufficient tarpaulings or oilcloths to cover the said gunpowder, under the penalty of forty shillings, for each boat or battoe which shall not be so provided and covered.

Manner of landing gunpowder under penalty of £4.

III. And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all gunpowder coming from on board of any ship or other vessel, in boats or battoes as aforesaid, shall be landed by the master of such ship or other vessel at the gate of the town, commonly called the Barrack Gate, if such gunpowder is to be stored in the powder magazine in the barrack yard, and on the beach above the wharf or quay, commonly called Franchère's, if to be stored in the powder magazine near to the English burying ground, or by entering into the little river in battoe land such powder at the Grey Sisters' Bridge, under the penalty of four pounds currency of this Province.

Manner of transport'g gunpowder after landed to the magazines under penalty of 40s.

IV. And be it enacted, by the same authority, that in the carting or transporting of gunpowder in carts, trucks or other carriages, each shall be provided with an oilcloth or tarpauling sufficient for covering such gunpowder, and all gunpowder landed near to the powder magazine to the barrack yard, shall be transported through the barrack gate direct to said magazine, and all gunpowder to be stored in the powder magazine, near to the English burying ground, shall be transported to the said magazine by the Recollets Gate, and thence along the Ramparts behind the houses of that part of the town of Montreal aforesaid, under the penalty of

Penalties how recovered and fines applied,

forty shillings for every cart or truck transporting gunpowder contrary to this Act. And all penalties and forfeitures incurred under this Act shall be sued for within eight days after the offence committed, before any two or more of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the District of Montreal in their weekly sittings; one-half thereof to belong to the informer and the other half to the King. And the said Justices of the Peace are hereby authorized and required, to hear and determine the same on oath of one credible witness, other than the informer, and to levy the same with costs of suit by warrant of distress and sale of the guns, boats, tackle, and apparel and furniture of such ship or other vessel, or of the goods and chattels of other persons offending in these premises, under the hands and seals of such Justices of the Peace, directed to any constable rendering the surplus, if any, after deducting the costs and charges of distress and sale to the master or person having command of such ship or other vessel, or to other persons to whom of right it may appertain. And the fines, for feitures and penalties hereby granted and reserved for the Crown, are to be for the public uses of this Province, and for the support of the Government thereof, and shall be accounted for to the Crown through the commissioners of the Royal Treasury for the time being, as the Crown shall direct.

Current Items.

HALIFAX, October 6.—Rev. Dr. Rand, the famous Micmac missionary, is dead, aged 79. He was the greatest living authority on the Micmac language. He was a famous Latin scholar and master of many Indian and dead languages. He was self-taught.

Mr. Philéas Gagnon, of Quebec, the industrious Canadian bibliophile, is editing a column in "L'Union Liberale," under the heading "Antiquités Canadiennes," the last number of which relates to the first Canadian railway.

Miss Annie Robertson Macfarlane, who was married on the 30th ult. to Mr. J. E. Logan (Barry Dane), is a well known contributor to the press of the United States, and came to Montreal last summer to collect material for "The Story of Canada," which she is writing for Messrs. Putnam & Sons' "Stories of the Nations" Series. Thanks to this happy combination of circumstances, "The Story of Canada" will be written by a Montrealer.

The Society for Historical Studies will resume its meetings early next month. A series of papers on the cities of the Dominion will be read, in which special attention is to be devoted to the civil progress as distinguished from the military events which marked the growth of the centres of population in Canada. The other papers will deal with special points in our history.

Mrs. S. A. Curzon, best known as the writer of "Laura Secord and Other Poems," is announced to contribute a story to the *Dominion Illustrated*, under the title "In the Thick of It," dealing with the Rebellion in Upper Canada. The field of historical romance is in this country a fertile and as yet almost unbroken one, vast as our prairies, and without their apparent monotony. The *Dominion Illustrated* can do much for Canada, and we feel sure that under the present management our history will not be lost sight of in its editorial department.

Publications Received.

LES BOURGEOIS DE LA COMPAGNIE DU NORD-OUEST, récits de voyages, lettres et rapports inédits relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien, publiés avec une esquisse historique et des annotations par L. R. MASSON, Première Serie, Québec, de L'Imprimerie Générale. A. Coté et Cie., 1889.

We have received from the author this interesting publication, which appears in small quarto form with paper covers, somewhat similar in style to the "Collection de Documents" recently published by the Quebec Government.

The opening of the C. P. R. and the familiarity thus acquired with the territory which was formerly the jealously guarded preserve of the great fur trading companies, has lent a new interest to the lives of the old Nor'-Westers whose names are still familiar in our midst, perpetuated by their descendants.

Crossing the vast prairies in a comfortable railway carriage, it is still difficult to realize the courage and endurance needed by the *voyageurs* who made that journey on foot or in their bark canoes. The story of their adventures is one of the most thrilling and picturesque which our history affords. Added to the personal interest in the individual members of the company is the conflict between the two great competitors of the fur trade—the Hudson Bay and North-West Companies. Mr. Masson's narrative of the rise and fall of the North-West Company occupies about 150 pages, and is followed by over 400 pages of appendix, containing a mass of hitherto unpublished letters and other documents of great value. The large clear type adds much to the appearance of the book and greatly to the reader's comfort. We are glad to learn that this is the first series, and is to be followed by other similar volumes. The second volume is already announced and will probably contain Letters by George Keith, Samuel Wilcox, James McKenzie, Duncan Cameron, John Johnston of Sault Ste. Marie, Peter Grant and others, all relating more or less to the North-West and the Fur Trade.

LE DRAPEAU. Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1889. This is a monthly political review, published in the interest of the Liberal-Conservative party. The Editorial Secretary is Mr. L. A. Chauvin, 1598 Notre Dame street, Montreal. Subscription $3.00 a year in advance.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. I. NOVEMBER, 1889. No. 11.

THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

By Mr. George Murray.

In the Montreal *Star* of March 24, 1888, I published a long note under the foregoing heading. Since that time I have received many letters on the subject, and several requests to republish the article, with any additional information that I may since have obtained. In obedience to the desire of the Editor of *Canadiana*, I now send him the original note, and have appended to it an extract from the London *Notes and Queries* of February 5, 1851, that, to me at least, appears full of interest.

In March, 1888, I wrote as follows:—"A letter dated Louisburg, Nov. 17, 1759, from Henry Browne to his father, John Browne, M.P. for Castlebar, who subsequently became Earl of Altemonte, was lately printed (for the first time) in the *London Times*, and has been republished in many Canadian journals. In it we read: "I gave you, dear father, as distinct an account as I could of our action of the 13th September, and of the taking of the town of Quebeck. I must add a little to it by informing you that I was the person who carry'd General Wolf off the field, and that he was wounded as he stood within a foot of me. * * * * * The General did our company the honor to head us in person,

as he said he knew he could depend upon our behaviour, and I think we fully answered his expectations, etc. * * * The poor General after I had his wounds dressed died in my arms. Before he died he thanked me for my care of him, and asked me whether we had totally defeated the enemy. Upon my assuring him that we had killed numbers, taken a number of officers and men prisoners, he thanked God and begged that I would let him die in peace. He expired in a minute afterwards, without the least struggle or groan." If we believe, and there seems no reason to doubt, this plain account, it is a pity that it was not published long ago. More than a century and a quarter has elapsed since the death of Wolfe, and it has hitherto been an undecided question as to who was with him when he died. In *Notes and Queries* of May 24, 1856, I find the following: "It is stated that General Wolfe, after he received his death-wound, was carried off the field of battle by a grenadier of the 28th regiment, then known as 'Braggs.' On the other hand it is asserted that the man who supported the wounded general on this sad occasion was a grenadier belonging to the 58th regiment, then known as Robert Anstruthers. In West's picture at Hampton Court a grenadier is introduced; are his facings yellow or black? The former would assign him to the 28th regiment, 'The Slashers,' and the black facings would lead to the conclusion that he belonged to the 58th regiment, of Gibraltar fame. Is this circumstance mentioned in any life or memoirs of General Wolfe? The name of the soldier in question was James McDougal, and at p. 47 of Cannon's 'History of the 67th Regiment' he is styled 'the faithful Highland sergeant who attended him when dying.' Here, then, we have the names of four different men who are said to have carried the dying general off the field, and the accounts in various lives of Wolfe seem to differ materially. This shows with what difficulty history must be written. Lord Bolingbroke once charged Voltaire with having changed in his narrative the circumstances of

an event in the life of Charles XII, for the sake of effect. 'Confess,' he said, 'that it did not occur as you told it.' 'Confess,' replied Voltaire, 'that it is better as I have told it.' Sir Robert Walpole expressed in the strongest terms his want of faith in history. Having been asked, when he was unwell, what book he would like read to him, he answered: 'Anything but history, for history must be false.'

The following singular account of the circumstances that led to Wolfe's death may be found in Hone's "Table Book," p. 126, (1827), and, as I have not seen any reference made to it before, it may prove interesting to the readers of the *Star*. Hone writes: "It is related of this distinguished officer, that his death-wound was not received by the common chance of war. Wolfe saw one of the sergeants of his regiment strike a man under arms (an act against which he had given particular orders), and, knowing the man to be a good soldier, reprehended the aggressor with much warmth, and threatened to reduce him to the ranks. This so far incensed the sergeant that he deserted to the enemy, where he meditated the means of destroying the General. Being placed at the enemy's left wing, which was opposed to the right of the British line, where Wolfe commanded in person, he aimed at his old commander with his rifle, and effected his deadly purpose."

"Can any correspondent tell where this story 'is related,' as Hone says? Has any serious notice ever been taken of it, or has it been regarded as a mere fable unworthy of being examined? The truth of the tale is not impossible; and that is perhaps all that can be said of it. If the vindictive sergeant really shot his former commander, it is hardly probable that he would have acknowledged his crime except *in articulo mortis*, under the pressure of remorse. But the question is, how did such a narrative get into print? Hone gives us no clue to the origin of the tale."

This is all of my note in the *Star* that need be quoted on the present occasion. No correspondent, apparently,

was able to comply with my request, and point out the source from which Hone had derived his story; and though I had stated in a guarded manner that "the truth of the tale was not impossible" no one attempted either to confirm or refute it.

Several months after the publication of my note I was turning over the pages of an old volume of *Notes and Queries* (vol. 1. 1853), when an article entitled "General Wolfe" attracted my notice. The article is signed *H. G. D* (Knightsbridge), and is written by one who evidently takes the deepest interest in everything connected with Wolfe. He refers to a portrait of Wolfe by Sir Joshua Reynolds—to some collections made by a Wm. Henry George towards a life of Wolfe, and to letters, still in existence, that were written by the General. At present I am concerned only with the death of Wolfe, and, therefore, merely print the account quoted by *H. G. D.* It involves the repetition of part of the extract from Hone's "Table Book" before cited, but as the wording is slightly different, the Editor and readers of *Canadiana* will doubtless pardon the iteration.

H. G. D. writes: "I copy the following interesting Note from the *London Chronicle*, August 19, 1788:—"It is a circumstance not generally known, but believed by the army which served under General Wolfe, that his death-wound was not received by the common chances of war, but given by a deserter from his own regiment. The circumstances are thus related:—The General perceived one of the sergeants of his regiment strike a man under arms, (an act against which he had given particular orders), and, knowing the man to be a good soldier, reprehended the aggressor with much warmth, and threatened to reduce him to the ranks. This so far incensed the sergeant, that he took the first opportunity of deserting to the enemy, where he meditated the means of destroying the General, which he effected by being placed in the enemy's left wing, which was directly opposite the right of the British line, where Wolfe com-

manded in person, and where he was marked out by the miscreant, who was provided with a rifle piece, and, unfortunately for this country, effected his purpose. After the defeat of the French army, the deserters were all removed to Crown Point, which, being afterwards suddenly invested and taken by the British army, the whole of the garrison fell into the hands of the captors; where the sergeant of whom we have been speaking was hanged for desertion; but, before the execution of his sentence, confessed the facts above recited." To this extract from the *London Chronicle*, quoted by *H. G. D.*, the Editor of *Notes and Queries* appends the following foot-note: "The incident related has been preserved by Sir William Musgrave, in his *Biographical Adversaria*, (additional MSS. No. 5,723, British Museum), who has added the following note: "This account was had from a gentleman who heard the confession."

I may here be allowed to draw attention to what I formerly wrote in the *Star*: "If the vindictive sergeant really shot his former commander, it is hardly probable that he would have acknowledged his crime except *in articulo mortis*, under the pressure of remorse. But the question is, how did such a narrative get into print? Hone gives us no clue to the origin of the tale."

All this is now explained by the extract reprinted in *Canadiana* from the *London Chronicle* of 1788.

THE QUEBEC SHIELDS.

Mr. J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C., &c., furnishes the following additional note upon the shields which were removed from the Gates of Quebec and taken to England in 1759:—

I have pleasure in forwarding a photo, just received from Lt. Philip Wolfe Murray, H.M.S. *Bellerophon*, now at Halifax, in connection with my note on the Hastings

French Shield of 1759, and explanatory of the same. "The original of this photograph hangs," says Lt. Murray, "in one of the rooms of the Royal Naval College Dockyard, Portsmouth, where I have often seen it." He adds: "On reading your communication, I see there can be no doubt that this is a different shield to the one you had a photo. of from Mr. J. O'Leary. His was taken in 1876, at Hastings, and I saw the one at Portsmouth first in 1877, and have no doubt it been there for many years. Besides, the two are altogether of different make. I am very glad to have been able to get this photograph from you, and thus add to the lore of Quebec."

The photograph which Mr. LeMoine has been good enough to send, shows the shield surrounded by a heavy moulding, almost square, except that the upper side is partly arched. The shield is surmounted by a crown, the band plain and six broad strips rising from it and meeting in a *fleur de Lis.* The fesse of the shield is an oval boss upon which are three *fleur de Lis ;* the boss is surrounded by a collar and pendant, and around this again the order of the *Saint Esprit*, the whole set on a gracefully scrolled and decorated escutcheon. Beneath this is a very heavy and complicated sheath of arms, and flags laid horizontally, in the centre of which is a tablet surrounded by a scroll, the inscription being as follows:—

"This Trophy
Was taken down from the Gates
Of Quebec,
When that place was conquered on the 18th of Sept., 1759,
By the Perseverance and Conduct
Of VICE-ADMIRAL SAUNDERS
And BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOLFE,
Seconded by the Bravery and Continued Ardour
OF THE FLEET AND ARMY,
Under their respective Commands.

Can any of our readers give any history of the shield which, no doubt, was on the remaining Gate of Quebec ?

THE NAME QUEBEC.

Referring to the disastrous landslide in Quebec, the *Canadian Gazette* (London) has the following paragraph, which is reproduced with grateful acknowledgment of the flattering reference to *Canadiana*:—

"In speaking of this calamity, the *Daily Chronicle* reminds us that the very name of Quebec should have suggested to its easily impressed inhabitants the imprudence of building at the foot of the Citadel cliff, since it is derived from an Indian word signifying "beware of the rock!" Is the *Chronicle* quite sure of its ground here? There is, we fancy, some measure of doubt on the point, for not a few antiquarian inquirers tell us that the city derives its name from the compression of the great river St. Lawrence at this spot, the word "Quebec" signifying in the native Indian tongue, "the strait." No doubt Mr. Wm. J. White could throw some light on the point in the interesting collection of Canadian historical notes which he publishes monthly at Montreal under the name of *Canadiana*."

"Beware of the rock!" is a refreshing novelty in this well-worn discussion. The following authorities are generally accepted:—

Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. iv., p. 114, Note 2. For the various theories regarding the origin of the name Quebec,—whether it is derived from a Norman title, as Hawkins maintained; or from an exclamation of the first beholders of the promontory "Quel-bec;" or from the Algonquin,—see Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec;* Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire du Canada;* Ferland, *Histoire du Canada;* Garneau's *Canada*, 4th ed. i. 57; Bell's translation of Garneau's *Canada*, i. 85: Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, i. 62; Shea's edition of *Charlevoix*, i. 260.

The fullest note is probably that of the Abbé C. H. Laverdière, M.A., of Laval University, the Quebec 1870

edition of Champlain's works, p. 89, note (4). It may be translated as follows:—"This is the first time the name Quebec is met with as designating what Jacques Cartier called at one time Stadacona, at another—Canada. Each of these names, without contradicting or excluding one another, suggests a particular side of the picturesque scene which the site of Quebec presents.

Stadaconé was built in the *wing* (l'aile) formed by Cape Diamond; and according to Mgr. Laflèche, Stadaconé, in the *Cris* or Algonquin dialects means wing, although other linguists profess to find a Huron origin in this word (see *Hist. de la Colonie Française en Canada*, i, 532, note * * *). The word Canada, of which Cartier himself gives us the meaning: ("ils appellent une ville, *Canada*,") seems to have indicated the relative importance of Stadaconé, which was due to its advantageous position. And lastly, it is natural to suppose that the Indians, after the disappearance or removal of Stadaconé, could not find to designate the same place, any expression more suitable than Kébec or Quèbec, which means, as Champlain here remarks, *strait, narrows*, or even something more expressive, *it is stopped*, (*c'est bouché*). It is, perhaps, this narrow passage compressed between two rugged banks which strikes the traveller most as he comes up the St. Lawrence which, up to this point, has been so wide and majestic. Moreover, the Indians of the lower part of the river, still use the same word *Kébec* to indicate a place where the water narrows or is shut in. It is unnecessary here to refute the opinions more or less ingenious which seek to find the origion of the name of Quebec in the exclamation of a Norman sailor, *quel bec!* that is, what a cape! or in the arms of a certain count or seigneur of Normandy. In reply to all these guesses there is always the convincing evidence of Champlain and Lescarbot, who assert that the word is Indian. (See Ferland I., 90, note 3.)"

DE LIANCOURT AND SIMCOE.

By Mr. James Bain, Jr., Toronto.

On the 20th of June, 1795, the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt crossed the Niagara river at Fort Erie, with the intention of extending his travels in North America, by a trip through Canada. The narrative of his journey appears in the second volume of the first edition of his "Travels through the United States of North America, the country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada," Paris, 1799, and in the first volumes of the English translation, two volumes 4to, London, 1799, and four volumes, 8vo, 1800.

The number of lines omitted in the English translation has always afforded room for surmise, as to the reasons which led the translator to delete them. The scandals spoken of in the suppressed passages are not such as would be made public by a gentleman at the present day, but they are not worse than many others in books issued from the press at the beginning of this century. The happy discovery of a letter written by General Simcoe, in answer to one from Phillips, the publisher, enquiring whether he would object to a complete and accurate translation, reveals the truth of what has been long suspected, that the suppressions were made in deference to the wishes of General Simcoe, and that it was by his express desire, that the report of his speech at the closing of the 5th session of the 1st Parliament of Upper Canada was printed as a supplement to the second volume of the 8vo. edition of 1800. Accompanying the letter is a review of the book in detail prepared under the instructions of General Simcoe, intended for publication, but which does not appear to have been printed.

It is easy to see from the Duke's Travels, that though a royalist and refugee from his native land, he was still a Frenchman, earnestly desirous of visiting his kindred on the St. Lawrence; so that in spite of the acknowledged kindness and hospitality of General Simcoe and the officers

with whom he came in contact, he was deeply mortified by Lord Dorchester's refusal to allow him to proceed further than Kingston, and betrays the suspicion that General Simcoe and others were cognizant of the import of Lord Dorchester's order before its arrival.

The consequence is that everything that tends to the disadvantage of Upper Canada and the British Government is eagerly seized upon, and comparisons are unfairly drawn between the older settled States of the Union and the newly established Province.

The whole tone of the books was therefore distasteful to General Simcoe and the U. E. Loyalists to a degree that we cannot realize now, when the rawness caused by rupture has healed.

The posthumous memoirs of which General Simcoe speaks were, we believe, never finished.

Wolford Lodge,

25th June, 1799.

"I feel myself highly obliged by your letter of the 19th of June, and the more so, as the press, since the commencement of the American war, has fashioned itself to the views and interests of those who have endeavoured to destroy the constitution of England.

"In respect to the subject of your letter, I do not see how it would be practicable to alter in the translation what the Duke de Liancourt has printed in his native language. The sheets before me are, I think, uniformly misstatements, and those on points (such as the Canada constitution) where he had the subject matter in print. I presume these errors not to be wilful. In respect to any part of my public conduct, that will be always ready to meet discussion where such discussion is useful to the public, but I trust our American enmity has ceased, and I know that, under God, I am the instrument that prevented the war between the two countries.

"If the Duke de Liancourt, on his return to Philadelphia, told the Americans that should a war commence, I said 'it must be a war of the purse,' and that instead of their attacking Niagara, 'I meant to attack Philadelphia,' his visit (and also that of many others) was of great temporary utility to the King's service. But where he could pick up the story of there being fifty thousand Indians (which no American could believe) or that they had all taken oaths to roast and scalp the Americans, which many Americans would swallow, I am at a loss to conceive.

"On the whole, let his book take its course in the world; if necessary I shall contradict it, if otherwise, still in process of time my posthumous memoirs may appear, and a niche may be reserved for this very ungenerous Frenchman.

"In the 240th page the Duke mentions my boasting. I detest the word, and trust it has never infected my conduct. I wish it could be altered to 'speaking' or any other word. I never burnt a house during the whole war, except founderies, gaols, and magazines; and in the Memoirs of the Queen's Rangers, a few copies of which I published, in one view to contradict such characters as La Fayette and Chastelleux, I expressly remarked, page 20, 'on the return, and about two miles from Haddonfield, Major Simcoe was observing to some officers a peculiar strong ground, when looking back he saw a house, that he had passed, in flames; it was too far gone for his endeavours to save it; he was exceedingly hurt at the circumstance, but neither threats of punishment nor offers of rewards could induce a discovery. This was the only instance of a disorder of this nature that ever happened under his command; and he afterwards knew it was not perpetrated by any of the Queen's Rangers.'

"So that you see, Sir, my proud boasting is of a different quality from what Monsieur Liancourt has apprehended; but most certainly, if American avarice, envy, or folly, had attempted to overrun Upper Canada, I should have defended myself by such measures as English Generals had been ac-

customed to, and not sought for the morality of war, in the suspicious data of the insidious economist; my humanity, I trust, is founded on the religion of my country, and not on the hypocritical professions of a puny Philosophy. That the Duke de Liancourt asserts my defensive plans were settled, and that I loudly professed my hatred to the United States, I conceive with the candid reader, will make all those shafts fall harmless, which through me he aims, as an honest Frenchman, at my country and its best interest, namely, an irrevocable union with the United States. Those sentiments of mine were called forth into public by the improper conduct of Mr. Randolph, the American Secretary of State, in 1794, and are printed in Debret's collection. I know they gave great satisfaction to the English Americans and as much umbrage to the Philosophists and Frenchmen.

"I will trouble you for a moment to say, that if you publish any papers as an appendix to your translation, you may not think it improper to include the speech I enclose, which has never been printed in England, and is illustrative of the objects I had in view, and may, by a note of reference, be easily connected with the view of them, as exhibited by Mons. Liancourt.

"His descriptions, it may be easily traced, originated from snatches and pieces of my conversation. Should this speech not enter into your plan, I will be obliged to you to return it to me.

"Does the Duke de Liancourt mention his companion Petit-Thouars? Perhaps your translator may not know that he was Captain of the *Tonant*, and killed in the battle with Lord Nelson;* if he does not, the anecdote may be agreeable to him.

"I am now to apologize for the trouble I give you in this hasty letter; receive it as a mark of my respect, as I would wish to stand well in the opinion of a man who, like you,

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* Battle of the Nile, 1798.

has the wisdom to see that the character of the nation is interested in that of the individual; and that unspotted reputation is the most desirable acquisition for a military and civic servant of his King and country to secure and to enjoy.

"I observe, the translator says, p. 229, 'York designed to be the seat of Government,' and it is at present the seat of Government, but before I left England for America, I designed London, on the Thames, or La Tranche, as the seat of Government, and York as an arsenal. I did not, as Mons. Liancourt seems to suppose, act from circumstances, for I always expected Niagara to be given up, and I never thought its possession of importance."

Copy of a paper delivered to the Honorable Rufus King, Minister of the United States.

LONDON, May, 1800.

"The Duke de Liancourt-Rochefoucault, in the recent publication of his travels through North America, speaks with much freedom of General Simcoe, then Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. It must evidently appear to any person who shall give the subject due consideration, that the conclusions which the Duke de Liancourt draws from his supposed communications with the Lieutenant-Governor (while living in his family), are at variance and inconsistent with themselves, yet, as a servant of his King and country, Major-General Simcoe deems it proper to say, that the principles which governed his conduct while in the administration of the Government of Upper Canada were the reverse of what is insinuated by the Duke de Liancourt, and that he was actuated by the most sincere intentions to preserve peace, good neighbourhood, and good will between the King's subjects and those of the United States; and he has ever been of opinion, in express contradiction to Mons. de Liancourt, that the most strict union between the two nations

is the real interest of each, and will mark the soundest policy and true wisdom in those who shall, respectively, govern their Councils. Major-Genreal Simcoe is so conscious of having personally acted upon those principles, during his administion of that Government, that he has claimed from the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt protection and consideration, as having been the principal means of preventing hostilities with the United States, from the mode in which he executed the military orders he received in Upper Canada. In testimony of these premises, Major-General Simcoe begs leave, most respectfully, to offer this representation to the Honourable Rufus King, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the King of Great Britain."

THE PROPHECY OF MAJ. ROBERT CARMICHAEL-SMYTH.

In volume 8 of the Pamphlets on Canada, in the Library of McGill College, is one with the following title page:—

"THE EMPLOYMENT
of the
PEOPLE AND CAPITAL OF GREAT BRITAIN
IN HER OWN COLONIES,
explained in
A LETTER
from
MAJOR ROBERT CARMICHAEL-SMYTH,
to his friend
The Author of "The Clockmaker,"
containing
THOUGHTS ON THE SUBJECT
of
A BRITISH COLONIAL
RAILWAY COMMUNICATION
between
THE ATLANTIC AND THE PACIFIC,
at the same time
ASSISTING EMIGRATION AND PENAL ARRANGEMENTS,
with a map by Wyld.
LONDON:
W. P. METCHIM,
20, Parliament Street.
1849.

The map at once attracts attention; it shows The World on Mercator's Projection, and the "lines of communication that would result from the carrying out of the suggested British Colonial Railway between the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean." When the red lines of proposed routes are examined, the involuntary tendency is to look for the familiar words "published by the Canadian Pacific Railway"; as not only are there steamer lines from Liverpool to Halifax, but, also from Victoria to the Sandwich Islands, to Japan, to China, to the Carolines, to New South Wales, and to New Zealand, while the overland route from Halifax to Victoria is about identical with the present Short Line. The Major writes throughout in a lively and hopeful strain of the great national work, which shall open the shortest road to the most extensive regions of wealth ever before at the command of any nation in the world, (not regions of gold, but for commerce and industry), so that at no future period, (within at least the imagination of man), will Great Britain have to complain either of too great a population for her soil, or too small a market for her labour. The text selected is more than justified by the event, and is this quotation from Dr. Lardner, 1840. "Let these, who discard speculations, like these, as wild and improbable, recur to the state of public opinion, at no very remote period, on the subject of Steam Navigation.

"Within the memory of persons not yet past the meridian of life, the possibility of traversing by steam engines, the channels and seas that surround and intersect these islands, was regarded as the dream of enthusiasts."

Major Carmichael-Smyth's attention appears te have been drawn to the subject, through meeting Messrs. Fairbanks, Howe and Haliburton (no insignificant names, as he remarks) on a voyage to England, where their mission was to wait upon the Colonial Minister—point out to him the necessity and importance of steam communication from the mother country to her children in the West, and plead the cause of Halifax. The whole pamphlet shews great research

and a surprising acquaintance with the facts and figures relating to Canada. It is now a rarity, and in every respect, of great interest.

Queries and Replies.

(1.) Who was writer of a pamphlet entitled, "An interesting account of the campaign of 1814, by a Musician of the Army." Printed for the author, 1815, 8 pp.?

The period covered is from July 2nd to August 24th, 1814, and it was issued without publisher's name or place of publisher.

(2.) Tiffany (of Newark) announces in the *Upper Canada Gazette* for 1794, the publication of the Upper Canada Almanac for 1795. Have any of your readers seen this or any of his Almanacs prior to 1802, a copy of which is in the Toronto Public Library?

(3.) In his M. S. diary for 1787, Major Mathews (53rd Regt.), Aide-de-Camp and Secretary to Lord Dorchester, writes:—"Signified to Lord Dorchester my feelings at being absent from my Regiment at a time when the complexion of affairs in the upper country were rather gloomy, and my regret at the necessity of relinquishing the honour of attending him. His Lordship received and approved of my proposal to join my Regiment in the handsomest manner, would not allow of its making any alteration in my situation with him, and said he had business at Detroit, &c., to charge me with, on which he would expect me to return and report to him in the fall, provided the situation of affairs above would permit it. I therefore prepared immediately to set off."

The entry for May 13th concludes:—"Got to Three Rivers at nine o'clock—while supper was getting ready, the Countess came in and bored us to death with the history of her husband."

Who was her husband?

PUBLIC LIBRARY,
Toronto, 15th October, 1889. } J. B.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. I. DECEMBER, 1889. No. 12.

REMINISCENCES OF COLONEL CLAUS.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshank.

I.

During the past summer it was the writer's good fortune to find in the possession of a gentleman living at Niagara, Ont., a small volume which had evidently been used as a letter-book by Col. Wm. Claus, Deputy-Superintendent-General of the Indian Department in Upper Canada in 1813. Into this book he would seem to have copied all official letters written or received by him between the 24th of June and 15th of August of that year, and abstracts of the principal speeches delivered by Indian chiefs at the various Indian Councils held by him during that period.

Besides amplifying and elucidating Claus's interesting MSS. "Account of the Operations of the Indian Contingent," preserved in the Canadian Archives, these documents will materially assist in filling up certain gaps in the military correspondence of that campaign. Besides some thirty letters of more or less importance, it contains a record of the proceedings of seven Indian Councils. On the fly-leaf there is written a nominal return of the Indians killed at or near Niagara from the 13th October, 1812, to the 6th of

September in the year following, from which it appears that there were two Cayuga chiefs, two Onondaga warriors, and one Oneida warrior killed at Queenston, two Mohawk warriors killed in the action near Fort George on the 27th of May, 1813, a *little* chief of the Delawares, a Chippewa chief from La Cladu, two war chiefs of the Caughnawagas, a Nippissing chief, and two St. Regis warriors killed at the Beechwoods on the 24th of June; a Cayuga warrior killed by a round shot in a skirmish near Ball's house on the 17th July; four Ottawas and one Mohawk killed in a skirmish on Ball's farm on the 17th August, when two others were wounded and ten taken prisoners; a Cayuga warrior killed there next day, and a Tuscarora chief killed in a skirmish on the 6th September.

On the 24th June, 1813, Claus writes from Louth to Lieut.-Col. Bisshop, commanding the advance guard of General Vincent's army, that he puts under cover a letter from Captain Kerr, giving an account of an action fought that morning between a party of the Six Nations, the Seven Nations of Canada, and some of the Lake Indians and a detachment of the American army under Col. Bustler (*sic.*) with two field pieces, and he continues: "It is with pride that I mention that notwithstanding the severe loss the Indians have met with in the death of five of the principal chiefs and warriors, and upwards of twenty severely wounded, several prisoners were taken in the woods and brought in without the least injury to one of them. The number of killed and wounded is not ascertained; we know of the above only at present." Kerr's letter unfortunately does does not appear to have been preserved.

Most interesting is the light thrown by these documents on the affair of the 8th July in which an American foraging party, under the command of Lieut. Eldridge was cut off by the Indians, hitherto regarded as one of the most obscure and painful incidents attending the investment of their lines

at Fort George. Lossing, the latest American writer who deals with these events, says: "The impetuous Eldridge dashed forward into the thick wood and fell into an ambush prepared for him by Blackbird and his followers. The foe was repulsed at first, but overwhelming numbers crushed Eldridge and his little party. Only five escaped. The prisoners and wounded were butchered and scalped by the Western savages, whose conduct was marked by the most atrocious barbarity." Then in a note below, quoting the following from Capt. W. H. Merritt's journal: "The poor devils were crying and imploring me to save their lives, as I was the only white man present. The Indians promised me the lives of the prisoners should be spared —— would only frighten them a great deal to prevent them coming again. I made a solemn vow if a prisoner was killed never to go out with an Indian again." He goes on to say: "The savages violated their pledge, and butchered their prisoners with a barbarity too revolting to be repeated here. . . . The excuse made for the murder of Eldridge was that after he was made prisoner he treacherously drew a concealed pistol and shot one of the chiefs through the head. This was Blackbird's reason for murdering *all!* . . . . An investigation proved the assertion of the savage leader to be wholly untrue, and this crime (strange as it may appear) stands uncondemned by British writers, one of pure barbarian cruelty." How far these details were purely imaginative can best be judged by a comparison with the official papers I am now enabled to cite.

On the 7th of July, 1813, Lieut.-Col. John Harvey wrote as follows to Colonel Claus:—

7th July, 1813, 10 p.m.

You are to move forward a body of Indians to-morrow morning in the direction of Fort George, to take post in front of ——— house, where some medicines belonging to the army were deposited, which it is the object of this

movement to recover. Captain Merritt will be sent early to-morrow morning to bring them off. A company of the King's will escort them. The officer in command of the Indians should point out to the Indians the necessity of remaining in front of the house till the waggons have returned.

Thirty-six hours later Claus addressed this report of his operations to Harvey in reply.

10-Mile Creek, July 9th, 1813.

I received your note of the 7th about 12 o'clock the same night, and I immediately went to camp and collected a body of Indians. I gave the necessary directions to Captain Norton. At daylight, 100 and odd left camp. About 3 p.m. information was received that they were engaged with the enemy. I collected the Indians that remained in camp, and was just proceeding to join them when a party appeared with five prisoners. I found that after the defeat of the foraging party near Mr. Ball's, on the Two Mile Creek, a reinforcement of about 1,000 men advanced as far as the piquet by Mr. Butler's, and returned almost immediately, which appears by the enclosed brigade-order, No. 3. The riflemen who were out for the purpose of covering the foraging party retired as soon as they perceived the Indians. From what I can collect, the killed and prisoners amount to upwards of 100. Of the latter, there are twelve; of ours none were killed, two Indians and one interpreter wounded, the latter very slightly in the hand. I used every argument to get the prisoners from them. I succeeded in getting three. The remainder were to be delivered up to-day with assurances that no harm should be done them, but I found this morning that they were asked for last night. I was astonished.

The above is the information I have been able to collect from Interpreter Lyons and the chiefs. Captain Norton I have not seen, nor has he made any report.

I beg to mention the names of Lyons and Langlade, lieutenants and interpreters, who led the Western Indians. The latter was wounded in the arm. I enclose a sketch of the ground as pointed out by Lyons.

The sketch to which he refers has also been preserved, and helps materially to fill in the outline of the skirmish already given. The waggons and their escort, approaching by the "Swamp" road from the Ten Mile Creek, were discovered by an American piquet stationed at John Butler's house, numbering thirty or forty men, which turned out at once to resist their advance, but soon retired towards Fort George. Six houses, those of the two Butlers, two Balls, Lawe and Secord, occupied the site of the present village of Virgil, then known as the Cross-roads. The Indians scouting through the fields surprised the foraging party on the right of the main road, several hundred yards in advance of this piquet. The men composing it, seeing their direct line of retreat already cut off, scattered and ran down a ravine towards the lake in hopes of gaining their lines. Their pursuers in four parallel files dashed across the road to head them off and shot down or overtook most of them.

As to the manner in which the remaining prisoners were finally delivered up by their captors, Claus remarks in his "Account of the Operations of the Indian Contingent," that Blackbird "complained that a person had been very troublesome, and had insisted in getting his prisoners from him. He had promised them to me and only wanted to keep them one night." On being asked who this person was, he pointed out Colonel Young, of the 8th. A Montreal newspaper of that year states that the prisoners were regularly ransomed by that officer, and Captain Merritt distinctly says that all the survivors except Eldridge were mercifully treated. So much for Mr. Lossing's assertion that the savages "violated their pledge and butchered their prisoners."

But it soon became known that the Western Indians,

whom General De Rottenburg described in an official letter as "a most ferocious and savage set," had not abstained from scalping the dead and maltreating their prisoners, in conformity with the instructions they had received upon joining the British. In fact, there is a record of a letter from Claus to Elliott, in which he observes that the Indians sent by the latter to join the centre division, had taken "thirteen prisoners and near a hundred scalps" on this occasion. As soon as a rumour of this reached De Rottenburg's ears, he caused Harvey to address the following letter to the Deputy-Superintendent-General:—

Headquarters, July 15th, 1813.

Dear Sir,—With a view to prevent those acts of barbarity which others have reported have been committed by some of the Indian warriors on the persons of the prisoners who have fallen into their hands, the Major-General takes upon himself, until the decision of the Board which is appointed to report upon the subject is known, to order the payment of $5 for every American prisoner who is brought to headquarters taken by the Indians alive and unhurt; only half that sum will be given for a wounded prisoner.

His Honour wishes you to communicate immediately to the assembled chiefs of all the nations the substance of this note, and that you take that opportunity of impressing on them his most anxious wish that they and all their warriors should abstain from every act of cruelty and barbarity towards their prisoners, and that from the moment an enemy surrenders he should cease to be regarded as a foe.

To this Claus replied on the following day:

10-Mile Creek, July 16th, 1813.

I proceeded this day to St. David's, and communicated the wishes conveyed in your note of yesterday.

The Indians, with the exception of the Ottawas and those from the West, state that complicit obedience has been paid to the instructions given them. The enclosed speech by

the Blackbird, speaker to the Bastard, the Ottawa Chief, will shew His Excellency the treatment his people have received from the Americans, and he says what was done on the 8th was done in the heat of the action.

Address from Blackbird, Speaker to the Bastard, an Ottawa Chief, to W. Claus, D.S.G., 15th July, 1813.

Brother,—At the foot of the rapids, last spring, we fought the Big Knives, and we lost some of our people. When we retired, the Big Knives got some of our dead. They were not satisfied with having killed them, but cut them into small pieces. This made us very angry. My words to my people were, as long as the powder burnt to kill and scalp, but those behind us came up and did mischief.

Brother,—Last year at Chicaga and St. Joseph's the Big Knives destroyed all our corn. This was fair, but they did not allow the dead to rest. They dug up their graves, and the bones of our ancestors were thrown away, and we could never find them to return them to the ground.

Brother,—I have listened with a good deal of attention to the wish of our father. If the Big Knives, after they kill people of our colour, leave them without hacking them to pieces, we will follow their example. They have themselves to blame. The way they treat our killed and the remains of those that are in their graves to the west, makes our people mad when they meet the Big Knives. Whenever they can get any of our people into their hands they cut them like meat into small pieces. We thought white people were Christians. They ought to show us a better example. We do not disturb their dead. What I say is known to all the people present. I do not lie.

Brother,—It is the Indian custom when engaged to be very angry, but when we take prisoners to treat them kindly.

Brother,—We do not know the value of money. All I

wish is that our people receive clothing for our prisoners. When at home we work and hunt for those things. Here we cannot; so we ask for clothing.

BROTHER,—The officer that we killed you have spoken to us before about. I now tell you again, he fired and wounded one of our men. Another fired at him and killed him. He wished to take him prisoner, but the officer said "God damn!" and fired, when he was killed then.

Blackbird's bitter indictment of the frontiersmen is singularly corroborated by a letter written by Col. Alex. McKee to Joseph Chew on the 27th of August, 1794, from the rapids of the Miami. After describing the advance and success of Wayne's army, he remarks: "The American army have left evident marks of their boasted humanity behind them. Besides scalping and mutilating the Indians who were killed in the action, they have opened the peaceful graves in different parts of the country, exposed the bones of the consumed and consuming bodies, and, horrid to relate, have, with unparalleled barbarity, driven stakes through them, and left them objects calling for more than human vengeance."

The only reference made by General De Rottenburg to this affair in his official correspondence, which I have been able to find, is contained in a letter to Sir George Prevost, dated from Twelve Mile Creek on the 9th of July, 1813, when he says: "A party of the King's and some Indians were sent yesterday to recover some medicines and stores buried near Fort George in the retreat. They were successful, and in a skirmish they had, the Americans lost an officer and twenty men killed and ten prisoners. The Indians who were commanded by Norton only lost three wounded."

Merritt's account of the skirmish is sufficiently circumstantial and interesting to warrant reproduction, especially as his book is rare.

"Next day the Indians were sent to the Ten Mile Creek with directions to move under Captain Norton's orders. At two o'clock next morning, 8th of July, they were to place themselves in the woods fronting Ball's, in order to cover me in getting off the medicines, having received orders that night to accomplish it if possible, as it was of the utmost importance to the army at this time. At the dawn of day, I went down to the Ten Mile Creek. Nobody knew of the Indians advancing; no waggons provided; everything in the greatest confusion. I got a detachment of the King's Regiment; went on the Swamp Road, and sent the waggons by St. David's. We did not reach the spot till eight o'clock. Had the medicine chest dug up, loaded, and sent off before I learnt Norton was on the advance; sent the soldiers back with the waggon.

"Lieutenant Collis of the King's, the subaltern, and myself went over to Squire P. Ball's and partook of an excellent breakfast with the ladies, and then went out on the main road to find Mr. Norton. The instant we arrived, the scouting party had commenced skirmishing. Collis returned to his men. Mr. John Ball and myself were the only whites present, except John Lawe, a boy, 13 years of age, whose father was made prisoner, dangerously wounded, on the 27th May, at Fort George. His elder brother was killed at the same action, seven balls passed through him. This little fellow was determined to avenge the loss his family had sustained, and would not be persuaded to leave the field till his mother, after the fight was nearly over came out and took him away in her arms by force.

"We were anxious to get away as we were both mounted and had no guns. Whenever we attempted it, the Indians followed. As we had come to where we had no business, we were under the necessity of remaining and sharing their fate. We were provided with a couple of red coats which had been left with Mrs. Lawe, a necessary precaution to prevent being shot by our own Indians. We rode on in

advance, and then retreated, endeavoring to bring the States troops out, as the Indians were very anxious to meet them.

"At length about 500 infantry with a few dragoons came out. As soon as they made their appearance the greater part of our Indians retired to the woods by Chorus's, which was far the best position. Accordingly we followed them and lined the front of the woods and edge of the road. The enemy came on within 300 yards of the road, when a party of dragoons made a charge. We were ready to receive them, but at a few yards distance they wheeled about and went back. A few of our foremost men gave them a shot, which the States troops returned at 300 yards distance, which gave our men courage to advance. We had but sixty men near us, the rest being half a mile in the rear. Ball and myself dismounted and urged them on. As the States troops perceived we were advancing in earnest, they retired very precipitately. As soon as the Indians saw this they all ran on shouting in the most hideous manner.

"A party of the enemy, consisting of two officers and fifty men, were sent out from Mrs. Butler's on Ball's road with an intention of flanking us. I pointed them out to the Indians who ran to the right and completely cut them off from the main body. Only seven of them made their escape.

"I gained my horse, left off the pursuit, and turned my attention to the prisoners. The first one or two were brought out from the wood at the end of the lane by Blackbird, the Indian Chief, who threatened them with instant death, accompanied by gestures not of the most pleasing or agreeable description. I rode up between them and was very shortly threatened myself for interference. The poor devils were crying and imploring me to save their lives as I was the only white man they saw. After getting an interpreter, they promised the lives of the prisoners should

be saved, and would only frighten them a good deal to prevent them coming again. I made a solemn vow, if a prisoner were killed, never to go out with an Indian again. Fortunately all that were taken were mercifully treated except Adjutant Eldridge, who forfeited his life by firing at an Indian while a prisoner. During the whole of the affair the ladies were eye-witnesses from J. and P. Ball's windows.

"We had two Indians wounded. The United States loss was fifty killed and taken prisoners. Our Indians followed them to Butler's meadows. Directly after, the States' men marched out nearly their whole army. We quietly retired within our pickets."

A BALLAD OF THE BLOCKADE OF QUEBEC IN 1775.

Looking through the pages of my French scrap-book, I recently lit on the following rude, but inspiriting lay, on the siege of Quebec in 1775-6, when the rebellious New Englanders, under Montgomery and Arnold, crossed our border—many never to return.

I had been allowed to copy the martial effusion from an antique, dusty, parchment-bound MS. A dear old friend, now no more, the Hon. Louis Panet, Senator, whose sires had played such a manly part in curbing the audacity of the foreign invaders, had been good enough to place at my disposal this prized *incunabula*, as he said, for the benefit of Canadian annals.

It was, I believe, an heirloom from his distinguished father, the Hon. Jean Antoine Panet, first Speaker of our Canadian Commons, in 1792.

My genial, nonagenarian friend (he died 15th May, 1884, aged 90 years and two months), used to take particular pleasure, not only in quoting from memory, but also in singing this war-like ditty, evidently composed when the

schoolmaster was not yet abroad in Canada, and when grammar and prosody did not inspire more respect than the Yankee raider on our soil.

CHANSON DE GUERRE DE L'ANNÉE, 1775.

" Le trente-et-un décembre passé
Montgomery nous a attaqué.
Marchant à la tête de ses brigands
Guidés par quelqu'un de nos 'habitants' (1)
Determinés à prendre cette ville,
S'imaginèrent, que c'était bien facile
Par Prés-de-Ville, braves, ils sont avancés,
Où nos canons les ont bien supplantés.

Arnold, ce fameux maquignon,
Vient avec sa troupe de fripons
Pour s'emparer du Sault-au-Matelot
Ils s'y renferment tous comme des sots,
Disant: " Nous sommes maîtres de la place," (2)
Qui pourrait à présent nous faire face?
Nous allons joindre dans quelques moments,
Montgomery avec ses combattants.

Carleton, dans ce même instant,
Fait partir un détachement,
Qui va cerner, saisir ces scélérats,
Leur faisant mettre à tous les armes bas, (3)
Les retirant des maisons, et des caves,
Où ils étaient tous cachés comme des braves
' Aux Récollets,' ils sont tous conduits, (4)
Mais non pas pour prendre l'habit.

---

[1] Col. James Livingston and his 300 French Canadians.

[2] The invaders held in reality, "as masters," for four hours, a portion of Sault-au-Matelot Street.

[3] Consult for particulars Thayer's (an eye-witness) narrative of the siege.

[4] Judge Henry, one of Arnold's corps, then a youthful volunteer of 17 years, was incarcerated in the old Recollet Monastery, burnt in 1796. It stood partly on the site of the Anglican Cathedral.

Incontinent l'on sépara
Les officiers d'avec les soldats,
Au séminaire, ils sont tous renfermés,
Fort indignés d'etre considéres,
Etant d'une noblesse originaire,
Accoutumés aux travaux mercenaires,
De forgeron, tanneur et cordonnier,
D'habile taileur et de fin perruquier. (1)

Maudit rebelle que feras-tu
A présent que te voila battu ?
Demanderas-tu pardon de ton Roi ?
De ce que tu as osé mépriser la loi,
Convertis toi, crois moi, devient fidèle,
Ouvre les yeux sur ton sort malheureux,
Tu changeras tes projets dangereux.

Arnold si tu viens rattaquer,
Tu te feras bien étriller,
Quoique tu oses, écrivant au Congrès,
Dire que dans peu tu 'auras enlevée,
Cette ville orgueilleuse de Québec.
Mais prend bien garde d'y être mis au sec,
Crois moi, tu sais bien mieux maquignonner,
Que tu saurais nous épouvanter.

Celui qui a fait la chanson,
Est un de ces braves lurons,
Qui te feront éprouver vivement,
Ce qui t'en coûtera dans ce moment,
Où tu paraitras devant nos murailles,
A qui tu n'as pu donner de courage,
Que par l'espérance d'un grand pillage."

J. M. LeMoine.

---

[1] The old song entirely agrees with Col. H. Caldwell's (an eye-witness) description of the invading host (though Bancroft tells a different story). "blacksmiths, shoemakers, tanners, etc.," says Caldwell, the companion-in-arms of Jas. Wolfe.

SIR ETIENNE TACHÉ, K.C.B.

On a visit to London in November, 1858, I had the pleasure of meeting several celebrated Canadians, among others the late Hon. George E. Cartier (afterwards Sir George, Baronet), the Hon. Alexander T. Galt, (afterwards Sir Alexander, Knight), the late Hon. Etienne Taché (afterwards Sir Etienne, Knight) and the late Hon. Mr. Justice Day. The title "Honorable" in virtue of their official status in Canada as "of right" is, I believe, a "moot" point without Canada, but the title or prefix is always used by courtesy. Sir George Cartier and Sir Alexander Galt had been presented at "Windsor" immediately before Sir Etienne Taché was summoned to be knighted. I had been living in the same quarters in London with Sir Etienne Taché and Judge Day and having visited France with Sir Etienne, he mentioned to me in the course of conversation the ordeal he had just passed through at Windsor and the result.

"You see, so he put it, I had been summoned to "Windsor" and Cartier told me that I must be dressed *en règle de la Cour*, that when brought into the presence of the Queen, I was to make so many steps, and when just near enough, was to kneel before Her Majesty, who would touch me on the shoulder with a sword and then tell me to rise as "Sir Etienne Taché." I went to "Windsor" determined to do my *devoir*, but not very sure that I might not forget my lesson.

Well, listen. I went to "Windsor," was received and guided by gentlemen-ushers who knew where to pass me along this grand old fortress of William the Conqueror.

They took me to a small room where the door was open, and to my joy Prince Albert was there, standing with his back to the fire and holding by the hand one of his younger sons, Prince Alfred.

So soon as he saw me he came forward and took me by

both hands and welcomed me most cordially, saying that he and Prince Alfred were so glad to meet me and that they expected me.

The Queen was not there; but before he had let go of my hands, I heard a rustling of a lady's dress and turning my head found myself face to face with Her Majesty, (till then hidden from me by the open door.)

I forgot all about Cartier's lesson as to so many steps, &c., &c. From the window still alongside, the Queen took a short sword, I bent the knee at her feet, but before I had got well down she had touched me with the "magic wand" handed it to Prince Albert and saying "Rise Sir Etienne Taché," raised me up by giving me both hands. She saw I was white-headed.

"Now, Sir Etienne, please tell me whether you prefer my addressing you in French or in English."

"Your Majesty, although I speak my mother tongue, in common with more than a million of Your Majesty's loyal subjects in Canada, personally I speak English and French."

A half hour was passed in "sweet converse" about Canada with this happy family, and Sir Etienne Taché remembered it with honest pride, and said so.

Shortly afterwards, we went to France together and when at the old Cathedral of Rouen, this gallant old Knight told me he sought the monuments of his ancestors whose home and resting place were there, and then bid them a sorrowing and final "à Dieu."

In Paris, during a long walk we took to the Bois-de-Boulonge of a cold December day (and it can be cold in Paris), he complained of suffering from the cold which probably induced the disease from which he died a few years afterwards on his return to Canada.

W.B.L

Queries and Replies.

M. J. G., in a recent number of "At Dodsley's" in the Montreal *Gazette*, reviews Col. Butler's new book on Gordon, and mentions the following interesting fact:—

"As we have said, Colonel Butler writes like all Scottish gentlemen, if he is Scottish, about Scotland, with an ever-recurring tendency to whoop it up about the heather and the braes. In a hysterical prefaratory chapter he tells us of all the Gordons who died for the old Stuart race and the old faith. He makes a ferocious assault on William of Orange who, he says, 'began to adopt towards the Highlanders a triple policy of treachery, bribery and emigration.' But he gives us some information which we have never seen stated before, viz:—that six years after the battle of Culloden, David Gordon, the great-grandfather of General Gordon, died at Halifax, Nova Scotia; and the son of David Gordon, William Augustus, and grandfather of Gen. Gordon, was at the siege of Louisburg and at the capture of Quebec. These are not uninteresting facts, and no doubt the grave of the old Gordon can be identified in Halifax still."

The Name Quebec.—*Apropos* of the notes on the origin of the word Quebec in the last number of Canadiana, the attention of your readers should be called to a late and excellent authority—Dr. Silas Rand's recently-published English-Micmac Dictionary. On page 177 Dr. Rand writes under the word "'Narrows'—in a river or bay, 'Kĕbĕk.' This is, beyond question, the origin of the name of the city of Quebec. The French pronounce *Quebec* not Kwe-bĕk, as the English do, but Kĕbbĕc, the exact pronunciation of the Indian word. The 'Narrows' above Halifax, and a narrow place in the Liverpool river, just below Milton, are thus named by the Indians." These statements are repeated under the word "Quebec." It is hardly necessary to point out how this interpretation is strengthened by Dr. Rand's authority.

W. F. Ganong.

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CARTE DE
L ISLE DE MONTREAL
ET DE SES ENVIRONS
Dressée sur les Manuscrits du Depost des Cartes Plans et Journaux de la Marine.
Par N Bellin Ingenieur et Hidrographe de la Marine
1744
LES MILLE ISLES
Riv. St. Jean ou Riviere de Jesus
ISLE DE JESUS
la Chenaye
Cap St. Michel
Cap Varenne
Fleuve St. Laurent
Boucherville
Tremblay
Longueil
ISLE DE MONTREAL
Ville Marie
la Montagne
Pointe St. Lambert
Prairie de la Madelaine
Riv. des Outaouais
LAC DES DEUX MONTAGNES
Fort St. Geneviefve
Fort de la Pointe claire
Pointe a Quenet
ISLE PEROT
Rapide de Peret
Brideloup
LAC St. LOUIS
Sault St. Louis
Chateau Guay
Riviere du Loup
Cascades
Sault du Treu
Fleuve St. Laurent
ECHELLES
Lieues communes de France de 2282 Toises.
Grandes Lieues de France de 2853 Toises.

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THE OLD "FRENCH" CANALS ON THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE.

Last summer, when visiting the "Cascades," where the sea-green waters of the dashing St. Lawrence are linked with those of her dark and placid sister, the Ottawa, I could not help admiring the grandeur and brilliancy of our Canadian scenery, and took out my sketch-book to secure a *memento* at least of this weird landscape which baffles pen and pencil.

At the point where these rivers meet without mingling, stands the ruin of an old seigniorial mill, a *souvenir* of the past, when a Vaudreuil or a De Beaujeu exercised feudal sway. The history of this mill must now be left for some student of the records of the *noblesse* of Canada and their efforts to secure the settlement of the country and to meet the wants of their *censitaires*. The walls are crumbling, and expose the heavy rafters of the building. The mill stones are within, resting from their labors. As we entered, the cattle seeking shelter there, fled and left us in full possession. But what especially attracted my attention was a canal of about twelve feet wide a few acres distance, cut across this point between the two rivers, and forming a communication by water to get past this wild rapid. No boat sought passage, no lock-keeper was there, the gates were gone, and

the banks overgrown with bushes. It was a desolation, but it was suggestive of the efforts of either military or commercial organization to overcome the difficulties of navigation. I knew, moreover, that Canada was historic ground, and that Quebec and Montreal were the starting points of the pioneers of Canada, who had explored the country from Hudson Bay on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and from Louisburg on the east to the Missouri on the west. I therefore, sought a clue to the history of this canal and the result of my enquiries is here given:—

My friend, Raphael Bellemare, a well-known Canadian archæologist, had in his possession a map of the island of Montreal, dated 1744 (executed by Bellin, of the Department of the Marine), which corresponds with the map in Charlevoix's work on Canada. This map he lent me, and it is herewith reproduced, and is worth studying. It will be noted that the only "canal" there indicated is the one by which the little River St. Pierre is utilised as a means of passing through the then Lake St. Pierre (since drained) to Lachine by what is styled the Lachine canal.

There is no canal laid down at the "Cascades," nor in that neighbourhood. Parkman, the careful and reliable historian of Canada under the French *régime*, having been referred to, I found that in 1673, Frontenac, with a force of 600 men, supplied with 120 canoes and two flat-boats, had passed *over land* from Ville Marie (Montreal) *en route* to Cataraqui (Kingston), where he visited the Iroquois, and that the "Cascades" and the neighboring rapids were passed with toil and difficulty by dragging their boats up the rapids, or, where that was impracticable, by *portages* through the woods. From this it may be inferred that there were no canals at any part of the route at this time (1673).

I had noticed, many years since, that along the shore of the St. Lawrence, cuttings had been made in the rock-

ledges at the points where rapid water existed, to allow boats to pass, probably by the aid of a tow-line from the shore. The first one was at Point St. Charles, where the Victoria Bridge now stands, and I was surprised to find that similar cuttings are now to be seen on the southern shore of Isle au Heron. Why there, I cannot divine, as a natural "*chenaille*" channel or canal exists in this double-island from the lower to the upper end, but even when the latter point has been reached, the head of the St. Louis or Lachine rapids has to be crossed to reach either shore. I was also aware of an inland cutting connecting the St. Pierre river with a brook, *La Petite Rivière*, running through the St. Gabriel farm, then through the old Montreal College grounds, thence across McGill street, where it was spanned by a wooden bridge, thence along Commissioner street into the St. Lawrence harbor at the foot of St. Peter street. The accompanying map lays down this cutting exactly on this line as one entrance to the "canal" or inland-water route from Montreal to Lachine, the other being by the River St. Pierre itself at its mouth, thence through the small Lake St. Pierre, in rear of the present Côte St. Paul, and by a cutting marked "Canal de Lachine" to Lachine. That a swamp remained where this lake existed until within a few years, and that traces still exist of an old "canal" about three acres south-east of what is styled now-a-days the old Lachine canal, is well known. From these facts I am satisfied that inland water navigation between Montreal and Lachine, on the line laid down in this map, did exist. From my own knowledge of this cut across the St. Gabriel farm and the River St. Pierre, as I knew it some fifty years since, I may state that there were not more than two feet of water therein, the width of the cut being about six feet, and of the St. Pierre river about twenty feet. It is stated that in 1763, when Lord Amherst, who had passed with his army from Oswego *via* the St. Lawrence, and had suffered heavily by loss of men and boats in passing the Cedars

and Cascades, abandoned his transports at Lachine, he left them in the mouth of this canal. Probably he found this inland Rivière St. Pierre navigation unsuited to his purpose, as he marched overland on Montreal.

In the Blue-book of 1867, page 566, the Commissioner of Public Works, states: "Prior to the construction of the Beauharnois canal, the navigation between Lakes St. Louis and St. Francis was effected by means of short canals and locks at the Cascades, Cedars and Coteau du Lac.

"Prior to 1804 they were as follows, viz.:—

	Length of canal.	Width of lock.
At the Cascades—old French canal lock at the Faucille, about.....	400 feet.	6 feet.
" " —Trou du Moulin.....	200 "	6 "
" Old lock at Split Rock.....	200 "	6 "
At Coteau du Lac—canal and two locks.....	900 "	7 "

"These canals had a depth of two and a-half feet on the water sills of the locks, which were of stone, and were designed for the passage of boats capable of carrying thirty to forty barrels of flour.

"In 1804 the locks at 'Split Rock' and Coteau du Lac were partly rebuilt, and a new canal of about half a mile in length, with three locks six feet in width between the quoin parts of the gates was constructed at the foot of the Cascades, instead of the old French locks at the "Faucille" and the "Trou du Moulin." In 1807 the locks were enlarged by the Royal Staff corps from six to twelve feet in breadth, and the depth of water on the sills was increased from two to three and a half feet for the passage of boats capable of carrying eighty to one hundred barrels of flour." From which I was led to infer that there had been certain small French canals at the Cascades, Cedars and Coteau rapids which had been subsequently enlarged under the British *regime* in 1804 and 1807, and subsequently abandoned after the opening of the Beauharnois canal on the south shore in 1845, but I could get no information as to

the history of these original French canals until I obtained the same from our able Canadian archivist, Douglas Brymner, who referred me to his report on the same in "Canadian Archives," 1886, fol. xx., and following, to which I refer for details, and here briefly summarize to complete my statement.

According to this report the Department of Public Works had been misled by tradition in assuming that these original canals had been built by the "French" as the documentary evidence since obtained was not then in its possessions. It is as follows:

In Bougainville's *Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle France*, 1757, p. 79, the passage of Montcalm upwards from Montreal and the frightful rapids are referred to, but no mention is made of a canal *except that one from Montreal to Lachine had been spoken of but none had been built.*

Knox, in his "Historical Journal," vol. 2, p. 458, 1760, describes the passage upwards from Montreal and the difficulties of navigation, but gives no hint of the existence of a canal. The point is settled by the report of Col. Gother Mann, of the Royal Engineers, on the state of the canals in 1780, where he says they were built under the orders of the then Governor Haldimand by Captain Twiss in 1779 and 1780, and that they should be enlarged, and adds, that these canals had been built primarily for transporting military stores and munitions, and secondly with the view of assisting merchants. Captain Twiss' letters fix the dates of the construction and completion of these canals in 1780-1781, and, as seen by subsequent records, they were enlarged in 1804 and 1817 and abandoned in 1845.

Mr. Brymner also gives at page 28 of the same volume an account of the canal at the Sault Ste. Marie 3,000 feet in length, with a water lift of nine feet, proposed to be built by the "North-West Company" in 1792, and subsequently carried out.

Thus all the Canadian canals, except that laid down in

Bellin's map of 1744, from Montreal to Lachine, were constructed under the English *regime*, but from the facts set forth in the commencement of this article, although Bougainville and Knox may not have considered it worthy of the name of a canal, still, that an inland navigation on a scale equal to the first English canals at the Cascades, viz., six feet in width and two and a-half feet in depth, did exist, is now on evidence, and that Bellin understood it to be a canal and so styled it, is apparent from his map.

It is well known that the French poineers were firstly accustomed to pass westward from Montreal by the Ottawa and its branch the Matawan to Lake Nipissing, and then down the French river to Lake Huron when seeking the lakes north-west of Ontario and Erie, or later by the route from Toronto to Lake Simcoe into Lake Huron; or should they have sought Lake Erie they went by Lake Ontario to Niagara Falls where they *portaged* and subsequently, when prevented by the Iroquois from approaching this *portage*, they passed by Hamilton Bay down the Grand River to Lake Erie. Referring to an interesting work on "The Canadian Canals" by William Kingsford (the well known historian) 1865, p. 12, as illustrative of the old route taken by our forefathers in their passage to Upper Canada (now Ontario) it is stated. "Thus on leaving Montreal the stage drove the passengers to Lachine, where they took a steamboat to the Cascades, a distance of 24 miles, at the Cascades they took a second stage, on which they rode to Coteau Landing, some 16 miles. From Coteau Landing a second steamboat carried them 41 miles to take a third stage at Cornwall, by which they travelled a distance of 12 miles to Dickinson's Landing where they embarked on another steamboat which carried them to the upper lakes."

I have also been told by men who afterwards were among the richest merchants of Ontario that when visiting Montreal to purchase their goods at the spring and autumn sales they took the stage, but often had to leave it and walk as it was

"so slow," and one of these merchants was actually in the habit of *walking from Toronto to Montreal* and back, always *once* and sometimes *twice* in the year.

Therefore, it may be said, in this our day of palace steamers and Pullman cars transporting us from place to place with lightning speed and in luxurious ease, "our lines have fallen to us in pleasant places," but let us give credit to our ancestors for their energy and judgment. Although not germane to this subject it may be noticed that in this map "Lachine" is laid down south-east of the canal, whereas the site of the present town of Lachine is to the north-west of this canal. A doubt has been raised as to the location of La Salles fort and home whether in the neighborhood of the present Fraser homestead, as Mr. Fraser has always stated, or near the site of the present town as Mr. Girouard supposes. It is reasonable to infer that the "Lachine" of 1744, and not the Lachine of 1889, was the home of the gallant La Salle, and that Fraser's statement, based on tradition, is apparently confirmed by Bellin's map which shews the site of Lachine with church, mill and fort to the south of the present canal.

MABEL.

REMINISCENCES OF COLONEL CLAUS.

By Mr. ERNEST CRUIKSHANK, FORT ERIE, ONT.

II.

The Indians acting in conjunction with the centre division of the British army in Upper Canada during the summer of 1813 never exceeded 500 in number, and were naturally divided into three classes. About fifty, chiefly Mohawks, from the Grand River, under Norton, were present at the action at Fort George on the 27th May. Upon the defeat of the garrison, they returned to their villages, where most of them remained quiet for several weeks for fear of losing their lands if the invasion proved successful; but Norton

and John Brant, with about 100 warriors, having removed their wives and children to a place of safety, joined General Vincent at Burlington Heights on the eve of the battle of Stoney Creek. They refused, however, to advance that night, but participated in the pursuit next day.

Another body of about 340, selected from the Seven Nations of Canada by Sir John Johnson, Superintendent of the Department, left Montreal on the 26th May. Twenty of the St. Regis warriors, under Lieut. St. Germain, did good service in the expedition against Sackett's Harbour; and the remainder, commanded by Captain Dominique Ducharme, did not join Vincent's advance-guard till the 20th June. Four days later they fought the battle of Beaver Dams, or Beechwoods.

The third party, conducted by Captain Elliott and Mr. Livingston, and composed of Western Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies, set out from Amherstburg about the middle of June. "There are some very fine fellows among the Indians I have sent you," Proctor wrote to Captain McDonell, "whom, no doubt, I shall miss." Their march was very leisurely, for they did not arrive at the Forty-Mile Creek (Grimsby) until the first of July.

To this place the Indians, already with the army, had retired immediately after their victory in the Beechwoods, in spite of all the entreaties of their officers, and forced Claus to hold a council to give them an opportunity to recite their grievances, the substance of which was that they had not been allowed to plunder their prisoners. This took place on the last day in June, and their speech is thus reported :—

"Brother,—We, the Six Nations and the Seven Nations, thirteen in all, will now answer. We were promised in old times that whatever we took from the enemy we should be paid for by the King. We hope the King will not forget his promise and satisfy us for what we took the other day.

We were accustomed to receive some pay for prisoners. We have been repeatedly told not to take scalps.

"BROTHER,—We have listened to your words, and the Seven Indians have done the same. Perhaps the Chippewas have taken some.

"BROTHER,—The King has told us the Americans were the aggressors; that you could not keep off the war, and that he was determined to have the old French line and not let them come so near us again. Our western brethren have been encouraged to come forward with the promise of preserving their country for them, or not to make peace until you had those lines. The Ohio is their boundary.

"BROTHER,—The Canada Indians have lands within the old lines; they hope you will not forget them. We wish to have a paper from you to say that each nation will be paid. You have sent everywhere, you tell us, for shoes. You see the state we are in. We cannot go into the woods, as we are barefooted. When our people were at Detroit last summer, a Shawanee Chief asked the late General Brock what was to become of the things taken, and he told him he had taken the words out of his mouth; that the Six Nations would be paid in money at Niagara and the Western Indians here. We shall see if what we were promised will be done. We understand complaints have been made of our bad treatment of the prisoners. We have moved our families back and the white people are using us in the same way. We suppose what we take we are much in need of, and we have no money to pay.

"BROTHER,—If any of the Nations lose their men, will their families be taken care of and not allowed to want? If any get wounded, will they be taken of?

"We suppose you wish to know whether we mean to turn our faces towards the enemy. The Seven Nations, except a few who go with the wounded, will go back. It is the same with the Six Nations, but we would be glad to know when

you mean to strike at Niagara so we might collect all our forces in time."

On the arrival of the Western Indians, Major Givins was placed in command of the bands from St. Joseph, Sault Ste. Marie, La Cloche, Matchedash and Lake Sinilon, and they immediately proceeded to the front, where, as Claus remarks, "the others could not avoid following."

On the evening of the 5th July, Col. Thomas Clarke having made a successful raid upon the American post at Schlosser the night before, he writes to Harvey:—

"Interpreters Fairchild and Brant have just returned from Queenston and reported a conversation held with the Tuscaroras, of which I enclose a copy. The interpreters are of the opinion that the Indians in American territory expect that the British troops will shortly cross, and are anxious to know how they will be treated. At the council alluded to at the Standing Stone, all the Indian nations there renewed their friendship. The Western Indians have not yet returned from the Four-Mile Creek, nor will they, I think, without doing something; nor have the Indians that went to Queenston this morning returned. P.S.—A general council is to be held at Buffalo Creek, five days from date."

It would appear that the Indians spoke to each other *across* the Niagara, which is in some places in the gorge above Queenston less than 300 yards in width. This document is entitled:—"Conversation between the principal chief (Osiquirisor) of the Tuscarora Nation within the United States and the chiefs of sixteen different nations with the British forces."

The Onondagas saluted the Tuscarora chief and nine other Indians with him, after which Katoirota, the Onondaga chief, spoke:—

"*Katoirota*, BROTHER,—We understand that it was your wish to see us and to speak with us, and we have come to learn what you have to say."

Ta Karihsga, a Mohawk chief, spoke:—

"BROTHER,—The Onondaga has spoken and has told you we are ready to hear what you have to say."

Osiquirisor, the Tuscarora, spoke:—

"BROTHER,—Our desire to see you was to know whether the same sentiments of friendship existed with you that you expressed at the Standing Stone (Brownstown) two years ago. Notwithstanding we are separated by the contention between the British and the Americans, our sentiments are still the same."

Katoirota, the Onondaga, spoke:—

"BROTHER,—You see, notwithstanding the report that the British are weak, the Great Spirit is with us and we are enabled to take possession again, though the King has been obliged to give ground at Niagara. We want to understand from you whether you are inclined to take part with the Americans or not. We wish to know what you had to communicate to us in particular."

"*Osiquirisor*, the Tuscarora, spoke:—

"BROTHER,—These times have been hard and we have laboured under great difficulties, being so near the lines, and we wish to know whether your sentiments are still friendly toward us, and if you cross the water whether you will hurt us."

Katoirota, the Onondaga, spoke:—

"BROTHER,—This will depend on yourselves. If you take no part with the Americans, we shall meet you with the same friendship we ever did, and we look for the day when you shall see our faces on your side of the water. We have no contention with you. It is the King and the Americans, and we have taken part with the King. We will contend for his right."

Osiquirisor, the Tuscarora, spoke:—

"BROTHER,—We are determined to sit still and take no part."

Ta Karihsga, the Mohawk, spoke:—

"BROTHER,—We take leave of you, the head of our army; and your friend, the head of our department, salutes you."

THE MUTILATION OF THE BUST OF GEORGE III:

A bust of George III., which had been erected several years in the city of Montreal, was on 1st May, 1775, daubed over, by some ill-disposed persons, with black, and a cross was suspended from it, ornamented with a mitre and a string of beads; under it were written these opprobious words: "*Voici le Pape du Canada, et le Sot des Anglicans..*" This act was seditious and deserving of punishment, and though a reward of 100 guineas was offered, the perpetrators of this wicked act were never discovered. (See Smith's "History of Canada.")

The head, attached to a plaster bust, is preserved in the rooms of the Natural History Society.

The following appeared in *The Remembrancer*, published in London in 1776:—

"The act was undoubtedly deserving of punishment; but it was not, and few Englishmen will think it ought to have been, regarded as a capital crime. However, it seems that M. de Bellestre, a French gentleman of the province of Quebec, and one of the new members of the legislative council established in it, was of a different opinion—for, as the people were gathered together on the next day to hear a proclamation made of a reward for the discovery of the persons who had committed this offence (which reward was no less than 100 guineas, which the English inhabitants of Montreal had individually subscribed at a general meeting, and which was proclaimed by beat of drum at the head of the grenadiers of the 26th Regiment), this very loyal French gentleman said that 'he would give £100 out 'of his own pocket to find out the persons who had done 'this, and see them severely punished and sent out of the 'province; for that they deserved to be hanged, and if they 'were in England would be so.'

"Upon hearing this severe opinion, a young English merchant, of the name of Franks, and who at that time

happened to be standing near M. de Bellestre, replied to him in these words :—'*On ne pend pas pour si peu de choses en 'Angleterre*,' that is, 'In England men are not hanged for 'such small offences,' which words he repeated twice or three times. This provoked M. de Bellestre to such a degree that, after giving the young man much opprobious language, he at last proceeded to blows, and struck him in the face and pulled him by the nose; upon which the other gave him a blow in the face, which knocked him down. The next day, May 3rd, upon a complaint of M. de Bellestre to three officers of justice of a new kind, called conservators of the peace for the district of Montreal, not of the blow he had received from Franks (for to this he was conscious he had given occasion by striking him first), but of the words pronounced by the latter, 'that in England 'people were not hanged for such small offences'—these conservators issued the warrant hereunder following for committing young Franks to prison; and he was accordingly carried thither by a party of soldiers, with bayonets fixed,—and £10,000 bail (this was offered to procure his liberty and be security for his appearance to take his trial for this offence) was refused. And there he continued for a week; at the end of which time, the same conservators of the peace (by direction, as it is supposed, of Governor Carleton) ordered him to be discharged without any bail at all."

The warrant of commitment is in French:—

"*District of Montreal.*

"By John Fraser, John Marteilhe, and Réné Ovide Hertel de Rouville, Esquires, Judges and Conservators of the Peace in the District of Montreal.

"WHEREAS, Francis Mary Picôté de Bellestre, Esquire, has made oath on the holy gospels, that, on Tuesday the second day of this month of May, as he was standing still in the street to hear a proclamation published concerning those wretches who had insulted His Majesty's bust, he had

openly declared that he thought they deserved to be hanged; and that thereupon one Salisbury Franks had answered with sharpness 'that it was not usual to hang 'people for such small offences, and that it was not worth 'while to do so,' and that he had repeated these words several times, and with a loud voice.

"We, having regard to the said complaint, and considering that every good subject ought to look upon the said insult to His Majesty's bust as an act of the most atrocious nature, and as deserving of the utmost abhorrence; and that, therefore, all declarations made in conversation that tend to affirm it to be a small offence, ought to be esteemed criminal;

"Do, for these reasons, authorize and command you to convey the said Salisbury Franks to the prison of this town, to be there detained until he shall be thence discharged according to law. And for so doing, this warrant shall be your justification.

"Given at Montreal, under our hands and seals, on the third day of May, 1775.

"(Signed) John Fraser.
" John Marteilhe.
" Hertel de Rouville."

The warrant to the jailor to receive and detain him was as follows:—

"You are hereby ordered to receive the within mentioned prisoner, and keep him in custody till by law discharged.

"J. F (the initial letters of Judge Fraser's name).

"To Mr. Mackay, Gaol-Keeper."

The warrant for his discharge, on the ninth day of the same month, by the same magistrates, was as follows:—

"*District of Montreal.*

"By John Fraser, John Marteilhe, and Réné Ovide Hertel, Esquires, Conservators of the Peace in the said District, in the Province of Quebec.

" *To the Keeper of the Jail in Montreal.*

" WHEREAS, David Salisbury Franks is now in your custody, in virtue of our warrant duly sealed and signed; these are now to command you to forbear detaining any longer the said David Salisbury Franks, but to suffer him to go at large wherever he pleases, and that without fees. And for so doing, this shall be your warrrant.

" Given under our hands and seals at Montreal the 9th of May, 1775.

" (Signed) JOHN FRASER,
" JOHN MARTEILHE.
" HERTEL DE ROUVILLE."

Notes.

GENERAL WOLFE.—I am sure we are all pleased when reading anything from the pen of Mr. Geo. Murray, especially when touching on Canadiana. In connection with the death of Wolfe, the burden of proof seems to be in favor of the usual well-known account of his death. This is given in Captain John Knox's Historical Journal of the Campaign in North America for the years 1757 to 1760; a large quarto in two volumes, dedicated to Lt. Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, published in London, 1769. Knox was present at the engagement—an evident fair chronicler—issuing his work when many of the chief actors were living, and in his vicinity. Their names appear as subscribers to his well-written journal, his statements have never been questioned, and with the following extract from the second volume, page 79, we rest our case:—

This is a foot note in smaller type, and reads—

" Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his last words, and the officers into whose hands he fell, and many, from vanity of talking, claimed the honor of being his supporters after he was

wounded, but the following circumstances were ascertained by me through Lieutenant Brown, of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg, and the Twenty-Second Regiment, who, with Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company, and a private were the three persons who carried his Excellency to to the rear, which an artillery officer seeing, immediately flew to his assistance; and these were all that attended him in his dying moments. *I do not recollect the artillery officer's name, or it should be cheerfully recorded here.*"

J. H.

Montreal, 9th Dec., 1889.

EPITAPH ON GENERAL WOLFE.

In worth exceeding, and in virtue great,
Words would want force his actions to relate,
Silence, ye bards! eulogiums vain forbear,
It is enough to say that *Wolfe* lies here.

Epigram on the numerous epitaphs for General Wolfe, for the best of which a *premium of one hundred pounds was promised.*

The muse, a shameless mercenary jade!
Has now assumed the arch-tongued lawyer's trade;
In Wolfe's deserving praises silent she,
Till flattered with the prospect of a fee.

Written by the celebrated Scotch poet Robert Ferguson, who died October 16th, 1884.

D. D.

Queries and Replies.

TRAFALGAR MOUNT MONUMENT.—Can any of our readers give the history of this monument, on the Côte des Neiges Hill. Mr. David Denne has the prospectus of a cemetery company which proposed to purchase a site here; and finds an old legend, written by Avocat de Boucherville, of Montreal, in 1832, published first in Huston's book, and reprinted in Paris, 1852. This story is highly romantic and sensational, but what is the true narrative?

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

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THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN CANADA UP TO 1841.

By Miss Blanche L. Macdonell.

Canada was forced by harsh, imperative necessity to carve out a literary career for herself. Separated entirely from France, deprived of any intellectual aliment which the Mother Country might have been able to offer, severed by differences of race, language and religion from her English conquerors, the only course open to her was to create a native literature, congenial to her own desires, sympathies and climatic influences.

During the French period, no national literature existed. The early settlers passed through careers full of action and stirring incidents as marvellous as tale of chivalry or legend of saints, and endured privation with audacity and hardihood. Men of noble birth and courtly nurture penetrated the secrecy of the wilderness, pierced forests, traced streams, planted their emblems and built forts. Existence was vivified by thrilling excitement, softened often by graces of the very highest breeding, consecrated in many instances by the devotion of a higher purpose. These people lived poetry and romance, but

had no time to write it. The slow work of civilization amidst the sombre forests of the New World, struggles with inhospitable nature, with the Indians, with hunger, misery and famine, left slight leisure for the cultivation of the intellectual faculties. The dangerous innovation of the printing press had not reached the colony. Education was controlled by the religious orders. The reading consisted mostly of formulas of devotion and lives of the saints. La Hontan complained that the priests prohibited and burned all but devotional books. In 1737, the Intendant Hocquart wrote—"All the education received by the sons of officers and gentlemen amounts to extremely little; they are barely able to read and write." In 1792, the Duc de Rochefoucauld observed that "the Canadian who could read was regarded as a phenomenon." "Notwithstanding their defective education," remarked the famous navigatator Bourgainville, "the Canadians are naturally intelligent. They do not know how to write, but they speak with ease and with an accent as good as the Parisian."

Even at this period we are not without materials from which the story of our national existence is drawn. We have various diaries, histories and memoirs, but the contests of the day developed bitter antagonisms; prejudice and partizanship in many instances obscured truth. Perhaps, regarded as literature, the Relations des Jesuits scarcely merit attention, but as furnishing copious matter to the historian, they certainly deserve some notice. For forty years, from 1632–1672, these Relations were annually published at Paris. They have been collected in three large volumes and published by the Quebec Government. Their chief interest consists in the fact that these books contain the most minute details of colonial existence. The quaint old French is followed *verbatim* in the footnotes. Among the early narratives is "Prémiere Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France," of Father Le Clercq. This work is highly colored, strongly advocates the Récollet

cause, and is said to have been written under the eye of Frontenac. Bacqueville de la Potherie's "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale depuis 1534 jusqu'a 1701," published in Paris, 1722, is held in high esteem as an authority upon the condition of the Indian tribes. "Histoire veritable et naturelle de la Nouvelle France," written by Pierre Boucher, and dedicated to Colbert, contains much valuable information concerning the colony. "L'Histoire du Canada," by l'Abbé Belmont, Superior of the Seminary of Montreal, is a short history of affairs from 1608 to 1700. A paper entitled "Recueil de ce que s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre tant des Anglais que des Iroquois depuis l'année, 1662," contains a full account of the Lachine massacre, written by an eye-witness who accompanied Subercase to the scene. Nicholas Perrot's "Mémoires sur les mœurs coutumes et religions des sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale," seems to have been written as a sort of diary from 1665 till the death of Perrot. Colden gives part of this narrative in his "History of the Five Nations," published in London, 1747. It has also been printed in the third series of "Historical Documents," published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. We have also "L'Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu de Quebec," by Rev. Mère Juchereau; Dollier du Casson's "Histoire de Montrèal," "Annales de l'Hotel Dieu de Ville Marie," by Sœur Morin; "Mémoires de Sœur Bourgeoys," all of which throw light upon the past. In their pages we may watch the grouping of events around the nucleus of a new nation, the light and shade of minor incidents playing about occurrences of a higher historic dignity.

Of all these writings, Father F. X. Charlevoix's history is decidedly first in value and importance. Charlevoix was a Jesuit, an accomplished man of the world, possessed of scientific attainment and a quaint sense of humor. His book is entitled "Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le journal historique

d'un voyage fait par l'ordre du Roi dans l'Amerique Septentrionale." He himself describes it as "A history from which I have determined to omit nothing that could possibly edify my readers." Parkman characterizes the Jesuit as careless, but Dr. Shea says, "Access to State papers, and the archives of the religious order to which he belongs, experience and skill as a practiced writer, a clear head and an ability to analyze, arrange and describe, fitted him for his work." The history of Frontenac, de la Barre and de Dénonville's administrations are exhaustively treated in these pages. In 1744, two editions of this history were published, one in three volumes, quarto, and the other in six volumes of small size, with the plates folded. In 1804, Heriot published an abridged translation of Charlevoix, but the English student owes much to the version and annotations of Dr. Shea, published in New York, 1866–72.

The colonists brought from their native land many songs, ballads and legends. All the light-hearted vivacity of the French temperament appears in these joyous refrains, the Old World superstitions revive in the ancient tales. Amidst virgin forests and tractless wastes of snow, the strains to which the hearts of these strangers in a strange land clung tenaciously, acquired additional pathos. They formed the lullaby with which the mother hushed her little ones to sleep, they were shouted by the hardy voyageur, wandering in the savage immensity of the wilderness; they were sung when family groups collected around the hearth where the blazing log fire hurled defiance to the roar of the fierce tempest without. The first germs of poetry were planted in tribulation and suffering, watered by tears, warmed by high-hearted enthusiasm. "Our old stories, our songs, proverbs and superstitions, all come to us from Normandy and Brittany," wrote a distinguished Canadian in 1835. "The tales of 'La Mer bleue,' 'Le merle blanc,' the songs 'Dans le prison de Nantes,' 'A St. Malo,' 'A Rouen,' 'C'est la belle Française,' the stories of wher wolves, the

will-o'-the-wisp, the imp that drives the horses, all these tales are delightful. They are something that the English do not in the least understand, something quite distinct from any Scotch superstition." This rich material of folk lore and tradition, in appearance feeble, in reality copious, effective, and full of force, furnishes the real foundation for our national literature.

With the conquest commenced a new era. Canada arising with renewed vitality above disaster and corruption, amidst the shadows of despair commenced a fresh existence, brilliant with hope. Order gradually succeeded chaos, subjection and dependence yielded place to an invigorating system of stable freedom. British rule brought material growth and educational advantages, thus affording a stimulus to mental activity, an incentive to liberty of thought. There was a great scarcity of books in the country. With a prolific modern press, in an age in which the making of books seems to have no end, it is rather difficult to realize a state of society in which books scarcely existed. Those who had literary tastes and inclinations had little opportunity for gratifying them. An educational report of 1824 informs us "that generally not above one-fourth of the entire population could read, and not above one-tenth of them could write, even imperfectly." The first newspaper, *La Gazette de Québec*, printed in both French and English, appeared 21st June, 1764. The first issue was printed on four folio pages of twelve inches by twelve, each containing two columns of small type. It had 150 subscribers. This paper retailed gossip and chronicled passing events. Being conducted with a caution verging on timidity, it rarely mentioned the politics of the day. The first article was the prospectus in larger type, in which the promoters promised to pay particular attention "to the refined amusements of literature, and the pleasant veins of well appointed wit." The latest English news was dated from April 11th, the latest American from May 7th. Some copies of this paper are still in existence.

At the birth of nations, as in the early youth of the individual, imagination plays an important part. The progress of poetry was timid and uncertain. Her first tentative efforts are merely expressions of the gay and jovial sentiments of our ancestors, epigrams, odes and satires; wholesome good sense clothed often in verse of very mediocre quality; songs, rough in form and finish, brightened by the sparkle of wit and vivacity. They consisted mostly of fugitive pieces, whose brief strains reflected the popular life of the period. They betray lack of cultivation and experience, need of that leisure and classical training which is indispensable to literary work of an enduring character. The best writing of this epoch is contributed by Quesnel, Mermet and Bibauld. Michel Bibauld is the author of a volume of poems entitled "Epitres et Satires." The verse (it can scarcely be dignified by the name of poetry) is harsh and imperfect, the sound is constantly sacrificed to the sense, the morality may be edifying, but it certainly cannot be termed entertaining.

J. D. Mermet, captain and adjutant in the regiment of Wateville, came to Canada in 1813 with his regiment. While in the country he published quite a number of poems' some of which exhibit considerable powers of imagination. His fancy appears to have been captivated by De Salaberry's heroism. He wrote "La Victoire de Chateauguay" and "Chambly," a really fine poem which ends with an eloquent and impassioned address to the Canadian hero. Among Mermet's shorter poems we may select "La Main," "L'Homme Dieu" and "L'Art Indéfinissable," as especially worthy of attention.

Joseph Quesnel was born at St. Malo, 1749. The story of his life is full of incident and adventure. A sailor by profession, a wanderer from inclination, he gained his experience in many lands. He visited, at different times, Pondicherry, Madagascar, French Guinea, Brazil and the Antilles. In 1779, he was in command of a war-ship bound

for New York, laden with provisions and ammunition, when he was made prisoner by an English frigate and taken to Halifax. Later he proceeded to Quebec, with letters of recommendation to General Haldimand, who had been acquainted with his family in France. After making a voyage to the Mississippi, the Frenchman became a naturalized British subject, and fixed his residence at Boucherville. In all his wanderings, Quesnel's inseparable companions were his violin and volumes of Molière and Boileau, authors whose inspiration can be very clearly traced in his work. This sailor was born a poet, making melody both of music and verse, as naturally and spontaneously as a bird sings, and often, it must be confessed, with as little regard for art. The cast of mind and inspiration of his poems are wholly Latin, his style is brilliant and original, and there is a jovial heartiness, a vigorous frankness about it, that one can fancy was imbibed from the strong salt flavor of the sea and the freedom of the tractless forest. Quesnel left four dramatic works which he set to music, "Lucas et Cécile," an opera; "Colin et Colinette," a charming little comedy, sparkling with spirit and vivacity; "l'Anglomanie," a comedy in verse, unpublished, and "Les Républicans Français," a prose comedy, published in Paris. Also a clever essay on the Dramatic Art, written in 1805 for a company of Canadian amateurs at Quebec. Among his shorter pieces may be noticed "Le Petit Bonhomme vit encore," "A Mon Esprit," "Le Ruisseau," "Sur l'Inconstance." Quesnel's musical compositions consist of several symphonies intended for a full orchestra, some duets and quartettes, a number of bright, pretty songs, several anthems, composed for the parish church of Montreal, which are still to be found there. A French poet, who spent some time in Canada, alludes to his brother poet as

> "Quesnel, le pére des amours
> Semblable à son petit bonhomme
> Vit encore et vivra toujours."

(*To be Continued.*)

REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUS.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshank.

III.

General Dearborn, the American commandant at Niagara, was in feeble health, and repeated disasters made him timid. For several weeks he did not venture to send even a patrol more than a mile beyond his entrenchments. After Bœstler's defeat in the Beechwoods, the opinion was seriously propounded that his army should retire from Canada, but a council of war, summoned to consider this question, decided to remain, although boats were kept in readiness to provide for a retreat in a sudden emergency. Fort George was strengthened in every possible way, and the camp adjoining was surrounded by earthworks, palisades, and ditches. Yet Dearborn must have known that his force outnumbered that of his opponent in the proportion of at least two to one.

A letter from his army dated on the last day of June, printed in the New York *Evening Post* of that year, thus describes the situation:—"Our army, numbering 2,000, is entrenched on the right of the fort. Fort Niagara is garrisoned by about 400 men. Our pickets and foraging parties are constantly harassed by the loyal militia and Indians. Every night there is a skirmish. They keep our troops under arms during the night, which exhausts and wears them away very fast. Our force has decreased very much. The enemy's fleet plague our troops very much. It has been making demonstrations off Niagara for near two weeks. The weather is very wet. It rains at least half the time."

The next thing recorded in the letter-book is a General Order dated from Kingston, the 6th of July, 1813, thanking the Indians for their services, especially at the Beechwoods, and directing that a liberal donation should be made to them when they took their departure for their homes, and a double allowance given to the wounded and the families of the slain. A few days later, Gen. DeRottenburg

formally sanctioned a war-feast for the warriors engaged in the skirmish of the 8th at Butler's Farm.

As the British squadron had sailed for Kingston to refit, and did not return when expected, the Indians of Lower Canada became urgent in their demands to be permitted to retire to their homes. Sasori, their spokesman, said on this occasion ;—

"We, chiefs and warriors of the Seven Nations, salute you, and thank the Great Spirit. We had a great regard for the King.

"We came forward and met the enemy and were successful. We went to the Forty and there we divided, and you persuaded us to come forward again, and said that perhaps it would be but six days before we met the enemy again. We came. Our patience is at an end. The King has enemies below as well as here. This is the day our people begin to cut grass for their cattle, and we must prepare not to let our people and cattle starve.

"We do not mean to run away. We are too grateful. We took a good many things the other day. What are we to get ? "

Claus assured them that he would request Sir John Johnson to assist their families in harvesting their hay and grain, and that they would be paid for the "things" they had captured, upon which they appeared perfectly satisfied for the moment. and agreed to remain with the army.

He complained that the native Indians set them an evil example, as they plundered the inhabitants without distinction, and then dispersed to their villages to enjoy their booty. Cattle and swine were wantonly slaughtered, and the wretched settlers living between the lines were reduced to a pitiable condition by their ravages and those of the enemy's foraging parties. "Our friends in the neighbourhood of the last scene," Claus wrote to Sir John Johnson on the 11th July, "are, I am afraid, now suffering. They are ordered from their habitations I am told."

The slightest reverse often appears to have produced quite a disproportionate effect on the spirits of the American officials directing the conduct of the war. "The British, back of Fort George," wrote Mr. Lovett, a member of Congress, from Washington, "have lately driven in the picket-guard, killed some and took forty or fifty attempting to reinforce the guard. They have also crossed to Black Rock and destroyed the stores there. The Postmaster-General this morning (July 17), relating to these things, exclaimed, 'It does seem as if the very devil is in our luck.'"

Skirmishes were a matter of daily, sometimes hourly occurrence. Almost every night a small party of Indians or light infantry would steal forward in the darkness until within musket-shot of an American picket, when they would discharge their pieces and run away to repeat this exploit in some other quarter. The entire camp was frequently aroused and put under arms, and this sometimes occurred more than once in the course of a single night.

An occasional glimpse is afforded of some of these affairs. On the 12th of July, Claus writes to Harvey:—"A party of Algonquin and Nipissing Indians, to the number of nineteen, with one interpreter, Langlade, who received a wound on the 8th, went forward yesterday towards Fort George, and fell in with a party of eight dragoons near Mr. Ball's. They killed two and took the quartermaster-sergeant prisoner, with two horses. The sergeant is a Frenchman, three years from France, and a shrewd fellow. The Nipissing chiefs wish to carry their prisoner and deliver him to Sir John Johnson. I promised to make their request known to the General and have the interpreters busy trying to get them to deliver him up."

Again at 8 o'clock on the evening of the same day, he wrote:—"A party of St. Joseph's Indians (10) are just returned from Ball's. They have been engaged with the enemy there, in number near a hundred. One of the Indians is mortally wounded."

The weakness of DeRottenburg's division prevented him from even attempting to do more than watch and harass his antagonist. When informed that the Americans had regained the superiority on Lake Ontario by the launch of new vessels, and that Yeo would be unable to co-operate in the investment of Fort George for several weeks at least, he began to fortify a position on Burlington Bay, to which he anticipated he would ultimately be obliged to retire, and to repair the roads in his rear to facilitate a retreat in an emergency. The piteous entreaties of Proctor at Detroit, menaced by overwhelming numbers, forced him to detach several companies of the 41st to his support. Their departure left him with but two weak battalions of infantry (8th and 49th), four companies of the Royal Scots and 104th, a few artillery men and militia to make head against the entire American army which still consisted of two battalions of artillery, one of dragoons, one of rifles, and ten of infantry.

Besides being almost destitute of tents, blankets, and camp-furniture, many of his men were in rags and without shoes. They were ill-fed and their pay was many months in arrears. As they approached the enemy, desertions became numerous.

But the inactivity of the American army, and the arrival of the remaining companies of the first battalion of the Royal Scots and the 104th—about the middle of July,—encouraged him to throw forward his right wing to Queenston, and fix his headquarters at St. Davids. His lines then extended from lake to river, a distance of about seven miles, confining the enemy to the ground they actually occupied, and preventing them from drawing any supplies from that side of the river. He excused himself for not having employed Indians in the expeditions into New York, upon the ground that it was difficult to restrain them from the commission of acts of cruelty and indiscriminate plunder, but added, "they are daily engaged with the outposts harassing and teasing them all day long."

Alarm and doubt pervaded the American camp. General Dearborn had been removed from the command, but Boyd, his successor, scarcely seemed more resolute or enterprising. The strength of the British reinforcement was much exaggerated and rendered him apprehensive of an assault. "The enemy are reinforcing every day," wrote an American officer on the 16th July. "We are encircled, they are in our front, the lake in our rear and flanks, and we do not hold any more ground than that on which we stand." "I think our situation very critical," said another. "The enemy are nearly in sight of our pickets. Their force it gaining every day—ours diminishing. We are attacked and harassed every night."

From the same source it is learned that a foraging party was attacked by Indians at Butler's Farm, on the 17th July. Three men were killed and nine wounded, and the detachment sent out to its support revenged themselves by burning Butler's house and farm-buildings. Three days later a detachment of militia was surprised and routed, losing seven of their number, and an entire brigade of more than a thousand men, which marched out hastily to their relief, skirmished fruitlessly for several hours.

A LETTER OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

By Mr. David R. McCord, M.A., Etc.

Mr. L. O. Armstrong was good enough to send me a photographic copy of the letter of General Benedict Arnold, dated Dead River, Oct. 13, 1775, which had been found among the papers of his late father Judge Armstrong, and which appeared in Vol. I of Canadiana, page 111. I recognized the letter immediately as being one familiar for the last fifty years to the students of this period of American history.

This letter is addressed first to John Mercier, and what happened is this: The "faithful Indian Eneas," either betrayed Arnold by delivering the letter to the Lieut.-Governor at Quebec, or the Indian was intercepted and the letter taken from him. From memory I incline to the first of these theories. Certain it was that the letter got into the possession of the Lieut.-Governor, and on the 28th October, Mr. Mercier was arrested, his papers seized and put on board an armed vessel. Certain citizens of Quebec thereupon held a meeting and called on the Lieut.-Governor to ascertain the cause of the arrest. He intimated that he had sufficient reason therefor. Subsequently he took into his confidence certain British officers of the Militia and communicated to them one or more intercepted letters directed to Mr. Mercier of a nature sufficient to warrant the above action on his part. I presume the Armstrong letter to have been one of these. It was not, however, shewn that anything treasonable had proceeded *from* Mr. Mercier.

I do not pronounce upon the genuineness of the letter. It would be interesting to know, if possible, how it came into Judge Armstrong's possession. I think I have heard it said that it belonged to his father. The word Quebec at this time was very generally spelt with a terminal k, which is absent in the letter before us, and in some of the published letters of Arnold's, Quebec is thus spelt. It might be that Arnold, as a precaution, duplicated this and other letters, and the one we are now considering may be one of the duplicates.

Another point strikes me at once. This letter has been sometimes supposed in the United States to be addressed to one John Manir. The name Mercier in the letter is so written that to one unaccustomed to the French language, it could fairly be mistaken for Manir.

Washington's Address to the Canadians.

From "*The Remembrancer; or Impartial Repository of Public Events, for the Year* 1775, published in London.

The following address was published in Canada on the arrival there of Col. Arnold, with the troops under his command:—

By His Excellency George Washington, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United Colonies of North America, to the Inhabitants of Canada:

Friends and Brethren:—

The unnatural contest between the English Colonies and Great Britain has now risen to such a height that arms alone can decide it. The Colonies, confiding in the justice of their cause, and the purity of their intentions, have reluctantly appealed to that Being, in whose hands are all human events. He has hitherto smiled upon their virtuous efforts,—the hand of tyranny has been arrested in its ravages, and the British arms, which have shewn with so much splendor in every part of the globe, are now tarnished with disgrace and disappointment. Generals of approved experience, who boasted of subduing this great continent, find themselves circumscribed within the limits of a single city and its suburbs, suffering all the shame and disgrace of a siege, while the free-born sons of America, animated by the genuine principles of liberty and love of their country, with increasing union, firmness and discipline, repel every attack and despise every danger.

Above all, we rejoice that our enemies have been deceived with regard to you. They have persuaded themselves, they have even dared to say, that the Canadians were not capable of distinguishing between the blessings of liberty and the wretchedness of slavery; that gratifying the vanity of a little circle of nobility would blind the people of Canada. By such artifices they hoped to bend you to their views, but

they have been deceived; instead of finding in you that poverty of soul and baseness of spirit, they see, with a chagrin equal to our joy, that you are enlightened, generous and virtuous, that you will not renounce your own rights, or serve as instruments to deprive your fellow-subjects of theirs. Come then, my brethern, unite with us in an indissoluble union, let us run together to the same goal. We have taken up arms in defence of our liberty, our property, our wives and our children; we are determined to preserve them, or die. We look forward with pleasure to that day, not far remote (we hope), when the inhabitants of America shall have one sentiment, and the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free government.

Incited by these motives, and encouraged by the advice of many friends of liberty among you, the grand American Congress have sent an army into your Province, under the command of General Schuyler—not to plunder, but to protect you;—to animate and bring forth into action those sentiments of freedom you have disclosed, and which the tools of despotism would extinguish through the whole creation. To co-operate with this design, and to frustrate those cruel and perfidious schemes, which would deluge our frontiers with the blood of women and children, I have detached Colonel Arnold into your country, with a part of the army under my command. I have enjoined upon him, and I am certain that he will consider himself, and act as in the country of his patrons and best friends. Necessaries and accommodations of every kind, which you may furnish, he will thankfully receive, and render the full value. I invite you, therefore, as friends and brethren, to provide him with such supplies as your country affords; and I pledge myself not only for your safety, but for an ample compensation. Let no man desert his habitation—let no one flee as before an enemy. The cause of America and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous American citizen; whatever may be his religion or his descent; the United

Colonies know no distinction but such as slavery, corruption, and arbitrary dominion may create. Come then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general Liberty—against which all the force and artifice of tyranny will ever be able to prevail.

G. WASHINGTON.

At p. 483 of vol. viii., of Mr. Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America" is a cut of Washington's Book Plate, which bears as his motto: "Exitus acta probat."—ED.

Queries and Replies.

In a recent number of your valuable paper you asked for information respecting "Fletcher's Field." Upon enquiry amongst our oldest citizens I find that this locality, in their younger days, bore rather an unenviable reputation. The name Fletcher applied to this field is of comparatively recent date; it took the name from an Irishman who pastured cows and sold milk. He lived in a little log-house, near the site of the Small-pox Hospital. This Fletcher had a friend of the same name, an Englishman; he lived on the other side of the mountain, and was known as Dick.

D. DENNE.

Sir Gordon Drummond, who was Lt.-Governor of Upper Canada, in 1815, is said to have been the only Governor who has administered the affairs of the country, up the present time, *born* in Canada (at Quebec.) What proofs have we such is the case? Can Mr. J. M. Lemoine give us anything certain on this point, or Rev. Mr. Scadding, of Toronto.

Who was the first wood engraver in Montreal?

What was the name and number of the last English regiment stationed in Montreal, and when did they take their departure?

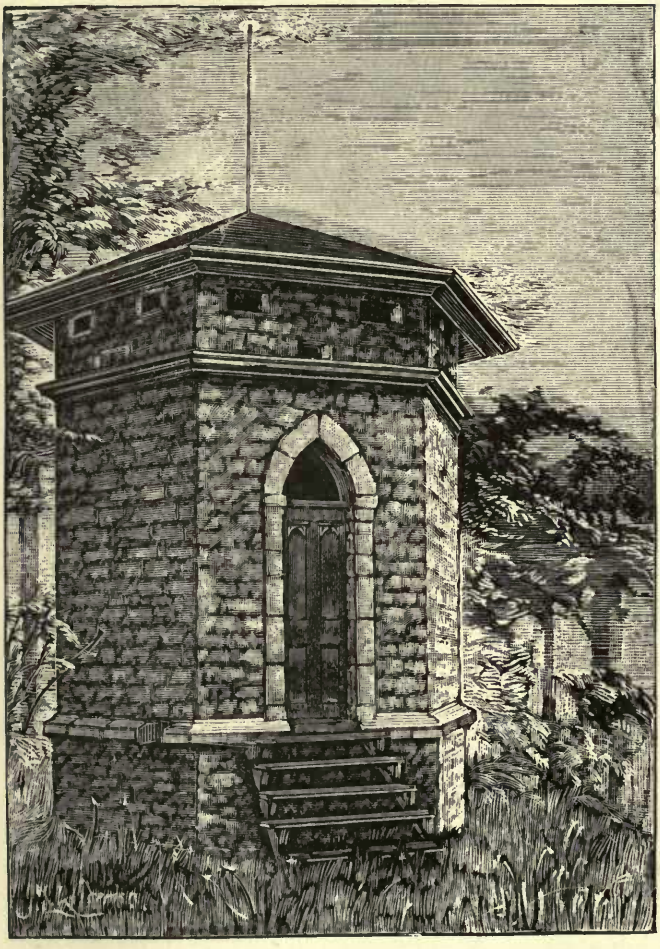
Where was the Olympic Theatre in this city in 1846?

J. H.

CORRECTIONS.—At page 16 of this volume, for Ferguson read Fergusson; for 1884 read 1774; for 1832 read 1835; for 1852 read 1853.

Canadiana.

QUARTERLY NUMBER.



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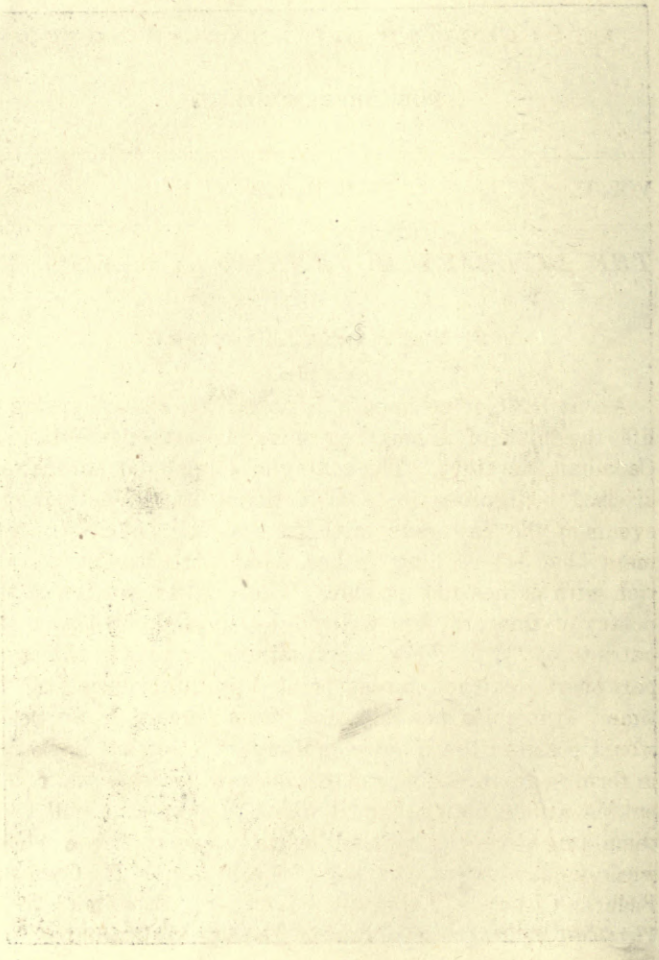

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. II. MARCH, 1890. No. 3.

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT IN CANADA UP TO 1841,

By Miss BLANCHE L. MACDONELL.

[Concluded.]

About 1830, or perhaps a little earlier, a fresh spring of life, the thrill of a new beginning, became perceptible in Canadian literature. The contagion of popular enthusiasm aroused a vigorous force of national life. The political events of the day gave birth to a strong, patriotic sentiment that before long clothed itself with burning words, rich with pathos and passion. The greater portion of the poetry of this era was written by those known as "the patriots of '37." These compositions were for the most part short, detached pieces, printed in the journals of the time. It is quite possible that for strangers, these songs would possess little interest. Many of them are imperfect in form and expression, and exhibit flaws in taste and finish, but the ardent national spirit which they breathe will keep them long alive in Canadian hearts. Among those whose work displays talent, grace and charm are F. X. Garneau, Bédard, Cherrier, Aubin, F. R. Angers, Petitclair, J. E. Turcotte, F. M. Derome, Barthe, Leblanc de Macounay and Pierre Laviolette.

Barthe's poems are very imperfect, thought is lost sight of in a deluge of words. Among the best are "A mon ami," "La Prière d'une jeune Fille" "Le Sommeil." Laviolette's descriptions of Canadian scenes exhibit sensibility and facility of expression. Aubin was a Parisian journalist who came to Canada in 1834. About 1837, he commenced the publication of the "Fantasque," a paper whose wit and originality were highly appreciated. During the political troubles, both editor and printer of the "Fantasque" were thrown into prison. Later, M. Aubin started the "Castor." The highest perfection of this writer's talent appears in his journalistic work, which always possesses a naive and original character. His bright wit, expressed in incisive, epigrammatic phrases, his French gaiety, lightness of touch and neatness of finish, quite sustain the reputation he enjoyed. His best poems are "Souvenirs," "A Jenny," "Quarante ans," "Les Français aux Canadiens," "Le Suisse Libre," "Le Juste Milieu."

William Fitz-Hawley is known by two volumes of verse. "Quebec, the Harp and other poems" which gained a prize offered by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences of Quebec, and "The Unknown, or Lays of the Forest" which contains a really beautiful description of the River St. Maurice. Miss Vining's name also belongs to Canadian literature, though most of her writings appeared in American journals. Her verses are tender, soothing, plaintive, though they can scarcely be said to soar above the common-place. The best are "Under the Snow," "The Earth's Complaint" and "Canada." Isidore Bédard's promising career was cut short by an early death. Notwithstanding carelessness and negligence of style, this young poet excelled any of his contemporaries in deep feeling and genuine fervor of sentiment. His quick, impulsive ardor vitalizes every sentence. His poem "Sol Canadien" has earned a well merited reputation as one of our best known Canadian national songs.

Decidedly the best representative of this epoch is F. X. Garneau, so well known through his History of Canada. M. Garneau devoted himself with ardor to the study of his race, its language, literature and history. His style is full of fire, in sympathetic harmony with the character of his work. Many of his poems are warm with the heat and glow of enthusiasm, and possessing that spiritual power which is the inevitable result of conviction, ring out like the sound of a clarion. "Le Père du Soldat" is an historical poem of some merit. "Les Oiseaux Blancs" and "Louise" are charming in form and sentiment. "Les Exilés," "Au Canada," "Pourquoi Désespérer," will live long in the hearts of Canadians. "Le Dernier Huron" has been esteemed by some critics the finest poem ever written by a Canadian. A little later, appeared Joseph Lenoir, who was born at St. Henri, in 1824, and who possessed the genuine gift of song. Though lacking in vigor and energy of expression, this poet displays much grace, sweetness and harmony. His word painting of Canadian scenes and customs is very charming. "Le génie du foret," "Le Roi des Aulnes," "Le Chant de Mort d'un Huron," have the true poetic ring.

The first two-volumed novel issued from the Canadian press was published at Kingston, 1824. It was entitled "St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada, containing scenes from real life." The writer was Miss Julia Beekwith, afterwards Mrs. Hart, of Frederickton, a relative of the Abbé Ferland, the distinguished author of "Cours d'Histoire du Canada." It was followed some time later by a second, called "Tonnawanda, or the Adopted Son of America." Having been unable to obtain copies of these works, I am not in a position to offer any opinion upon their literary merits. I am also ignorant of what reception may have been accorded them by the public.

As the spirit of a higher intelligence began to make itself felt amidst the mere striving after a physical existence, a number of persons appear who, though they have left no

permanent contributions to the literature of their country, have yet done much for its advancement. Amongst these we may name F. X. Perrault, an earnest pioneer of education in the Province of Quebec, whose "History of Canada" is simply an elementary work compiled to meet the necessities of public instruction; also Messrs. Faribault and Viger, archeologist antiquarians, whose historical researches have proved of inestimable service to our later historians. In this connection we may notice that the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, founded in 1824, became an important factor in the development of Canadian literature. This Society exhibited the most praiseworthy zeal in encouraging the cultivation of literary and scientific tastes and pursuits, historical research and the publication of the annals of the country.

History is a branch of literature for which the Canadians seem to possess especial aptitude. The man who had the most influence on the spirit in which the story of events in Canada after the Conquest has been written, is Pierre du Calvet. This Frenchman was a Huguenot, and formerly a magistrate of Montreal. His liberality of sentiment had caused him to be suspected of intrigues with the Americans, to whom he had furnished supplies during their occupation of Montreal, and with whom it appears he had kept up a correspondence. He was arrested at his own house, Sept. 27th, 1780, by a party of soldiers who took possession of his money and papers, and brought him to Quebec, where at first he was kept on a vessel in the harbor, then cast into the military prison, and finally lodged in the Recollet Convent. Du Calvet insisted that he should be brought to trial, influential friends offered themselves as guarantees of his loyalty, but all the demands of this strenuous and determined advocate of his own rights, were refused. After two years and a half of captivity he was set at liberty, without being told the crime of which he was accused. Du Calvet appears to have

been a man of vigorous mind, penetrating observation and varied experience, and of a fiery, head-strong temperament. As soon as he escaped from his Quebec prison, he sailed for London to demand justice from the King. He requested the recall of General Haldimand that he might be able to accuse his persecutor before the English court. At first the authorities gave him evasive answers, and afterwards completely ignored his claims. Du Calvet, in 1784, published a volume of letters called "Appel à la justice de l'état ou Recueuil de Lettres au Roi, au Prince de Galles et aux Ministres avec une lettre à Messieurs les Canadiens.' This work circulated freely in England and Canada, gaining a number of partizans for the cause of constitutional liberty in the latter country. The book might have more order and method, the style might be more correct, the expressions more choice, but the Canadian cause could not be pleaded with more earnestness and conviction. The letters are full of fearless strength and vivacity of passion. With a proud independence of spirit, indicative of mental force and moral courage, the author identifies his own cause with that of Canada and the force of personal complaint imparting warmth to a public grievance, boldly asserted truths which at that moment other men would scarcely have dared to whisper. In transports of a rude and fiery eloquence he cries "Qu'il est triste d'être vaincu. "If it cost only the blood that waters the field of battle, the wound would be very deep, very painful, it would bleed many years, but time would heal it. But to be condemned forever to be crushed by the hand of a conqueror, to remain eternally the slave of the freest people upon earth, that is too much. Might it be that our cowardice in disputing the victory, by degrading us in the eyes of our conquerors, has merited their rage and contempt. It was the divisions of our generals that caused them to be beaten, but for us, we revenged ourselves the next year, 28th April, 1760, we wiped out the shame of their defeat on another battle

field." He then describes the tyranny under which Canada groaned, the persecutions of which he was the object, the corruption of the judges who, during his imprisonment, had caused him to lose the greater portion of his fortune, in open violation of justice, of ordinary means of defence, and in allowing him to be intimidated by the presence of the Governor, who, contrary to ordinary usage, took his seat on the Bench when the case was being tried and which was lost by Haldimand's vote. Having declared that a great number of his compatriots were oppressed in the same manner, he draws a glowing picture of the vices of the Government, the despotism of the Governors, the servility of officials, the embezzlements of which they were guilty to gratify those in power or to serve their own friends, the continued violations of the Act of '74, and ends by demanding the establishment of a constitutional Government. This work has now become very rare. It is so evidently written under the empire of passion that it can scarcely be relied upon as an authority, and though all the Canadian historians quote it, none of them appear to trust implicitly to du Calvet's statements.*

Since Charlevoix, more than a hundred years had passed, and Canada had had no real historian. Dr. Jacques Labrie first made an attempt to supply this want. The Legislature allowed £500 for the publication of his volume, but unfortunately the author died before it was printed, and during the political troubles of 1837, the M.S. was destroyed at the burning of St. Benoit. William Smith was the first English writer on Canadian history. Mr. Smith was Registrar and Master in Chancery, and later became a member of the Executive Council. His book was published at Quebec in 1815, and is called "History of Canada from its first discovery to the peace, and from the establishment of the

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* For a full account of this "traitor" and "compleat rascal," vide Report on Canadian Archives, 1888, p. xv. et seq: Ed.

Civil Government in 1764, to the establishment of the Constitution in 1791."

Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor-General of Canada, enjoyed a European reputation. The Legislature of Lower Canada gave 500 guineas towards the publication of his well-known work, "Description topographique de la Province du Bas Canada avec des remarques sur le Haut Canada et sur les relations des deux Provinces avec les Etats Unis de l'Amérique, enrichies de plusieurs vues, plans de ponts, de batailles, etc." The book was published in 1815, and an extension of the work in English appeared in 1831. Michel Bibault's "Histoire du Canada sous la domination Française," was published in Montreal 1837. The style is dry and stilted, and the author has been accused of failing in correctness of detail. In 1834, "Hawkins' Picture of Quebec with historical recollections" made its appearance. This is an excellent book of reference, as it contains an exact description of the siege of Quebec, and also one of the attack on Quebec by Arnold and Montgomery in 1775. A number of English writers have also written upon Canadian affairs, among them—Robert Montgomery Martin, Hugh Murray, M. H. Bliss, Robert Gourlay, Cath. Smith, Bartlett, Heriot, Richardson.

In reviewing the progress of Canadian literature as far as 1841, we may fairly conclude that very great advance was made in knowledge and intelligence; we can congratulate ourselves upon the reality of grasped achievement, on the creation of an educational influence that has moulded the character of our national literature. We must remember that this work has been almost entirely undertaken in brief intervals of leisure, by busy men, whose best energies were absorbed by the practical necessities of life. Though no writer rose to the heights of genius, though Canada gave birth to no poet of commanding inspiration, the literary work that appeared was good of its kind, it furnished an excellent foundation for what was to follow. Walt

Whitman says: "The profoundest service that poems or any other writings can do for their reader is not merely to satisfy the intellect, or supply something polished or interesting, or even to depict great persons, or passions or events, but to fill him with vigorous and clear manliness and religiousness, and give him a good heart as a radical possession and habit." In this sense, this early Canadian literature seems to have accomplished its aim. It also possessess the merit of being natural and original. The national lyre vibrates spontaneously, and in many instances, the vigor of its expression, the nobility of its utterance, is not unworthy of a country boasting a splendid exuberance of life, and looking forward to a glorious future replete with illimitable possibility.

THE TRAFALGAR TOWER.

At page 16 of this number, an enquiry appears as to the history of Trafalgar Mount Monument. So great has been the interest excited by this enquiry, and the discussion to which it has given rise, that the following account of this tower may be acceptable to the readers of "Canadiana."

The story which has attracted attention to this tower appears in "Le Répertoire National ou Recuil de Litterature Canadienne," compiled and published by J. Huston, a member of "L'Institut Canadien de Montréal," in 1848, and is to be found at page 263 of Volume I. The date ascribed to it there is 1835, and as the book is somewhat rare, we venture to give the following synopsis.

The story is by George de Boucherville and a foot note gives the information that he was formerly a member of the Bar of Montreal, and in 1848 was practising at the Aylmer Bar. He writes in the first person singular, and begins by describing the location of the Tower as follows:—

Have you ever gone as far as the "Priest's Fort" on the

Mountain ? Have you sometimes struck into the sombre thicket which borders on the southwest the hill leading to Cote des Neiges ? And if you have been ever so little curious in examining the picturesque landscape, the valleys which are spread out fresh and blooming before your eyes, the rocks which here and there frown threateningly above your head ; you must have noticed the grey spot which appears in the distance, on the left, upon the green background of one side of the mountain. Well, that spot which in the distance appears like a small point, is a little tower, gothic in style, which recalls dark and sinister recollections to those who are aware of the horrible deed of which this was the scene.

He then proceeds to tell how one fine morning in June many years before, he took his gun, and followed by his dog, went out in the direction of the " Priest's Fort " intending to return the same evening to his home. It was noon before he arrived at the " Red Cross," memento of the story of the villanous Belisle. In the afternoon he goes on towards the mountain, and having good sport, does not notice the change which has taken place in the sky. Heavy clouds are gathering rapidly ; birds are flying about in haste seeking shelter from the approaching storm. The wind rises, and soon the thunder and lightning announce the commencement of the storm. The first drops of rain recall the hunter to the realization of his situation, and he finds that he is alone on the mountain, and he is obliged at first to take shelter in a hollow tree, expecting that the storm will soon pass over. The storm continues however, and he is driven from this dangerous retreat, and then it is, that he discovers the little tower, into which he rushes expecting to find a more secure shelter from the storm. Upon examination, however, it does not prove to be much better than that which he had left. The rain entered on all sides through the broken windows, the flooring was falling to pieces, and he was afraid that the opening under

it, which yawned dark and threatening at his feet, might be the home of some venemous reptile. He then describes the fury of the storm, and how at last, overcome by fatigue and hunger, he lies down with his gun beside him and his dog near by to warn him of any hostile approach.

He had only been sleeping a few miuutes when he felt something cold pass over his face, something like a hand which glided over his body— he trembled, and a thrill of horror passed through all his limbs, his hair stood upright and he felt as though he were choking, having neither courage to raise himself, nor strength to seize his gun. He then proceeds to say that although he did not believe ghosts he would not dare confess what thoughts passed through his mind at that moment. Was it some spirit from another world which had appeared to frighten him? He did not believe it. Was it a hand in reality, a man's hand that had touched him? That might be. Was it a reptile that had glided over his body? That might also be? Was it the effect of his excited and weakened imagination? Even that might be. In any case, it is certain he says that he never experienced so depressing a sensation in his life. The storm had continued, one flash followed another without interruption, and the woods around him seemed like one vast furnace of fire. His eyes dazzled by the lightening, were suddedly struck by the sight of blood which was splashed upon the walls; he also saw some drops upon the panels of the door. At this the most frightful and incoherent ideas had possession of him. Could a person have been murdered there, in this spot at which he was alone in the middle of the night? Might it even be the assassin whose hand had passed over him a few minutes before in the hope of taking his gun away and thus depriving him of his own defence? But his dog was still there beside him sleeping quietly, and if it had been anyone who had come near him, the dog would certainly have warned him of their approach. While he is thus disturbed by a thousand conjectures, the

clouds commence to break, the storm is less violent, and the lightening flashes more rare, while the thunder is heard further and further away, like a lion retiring from a scene of carnage when he has spent his fury, rather because he meets with no resistance, than because he is obliged to give way to one who is stronger than himself.

In the next chapter he describes how he went from the fatal tower, and in the darkness before dawn wandered on the mountain seeking some more hospitable shelter. He wanders thus until morning, and finds himself at the back of the mountain where he discovers a hut. Hastening towards it with joy, he is disappointed when he sees a man whose savage aspect, tall figure and broad shoulders repell him, and who tells him with some sharpness that he has nothing for him, and that his house cannot serve as a shelter for anyone , no matter whom. The stranger is sitting on the trunk of a tree, sharpening on a large stone an axe which appears to have been stained with blood. As the wanderer approaches, he hides this axe with a curious gesture of discontent, under a branch which is at his feet In pleading with the stranger, he tells him that he has passed the night on the mountain, and describes his adventures in the tower, and then the hermit, attracted apparently by his frank demeanour, exacts from him a promise of secrecy and produces an old manuscript from which he reads him the story of the crime which was committed at the tower. This story forms Chapter 4, and is entitled "Jealousy."

It was the fourth of March, just nineteen months after the death of her father and mother, when Leocadie the heroine of the story is introduced kneeling in the church at confession. The hour is past six, and the services of the church had long been finished. At this moment a handsome young man of about twenty-five enters, as was his habit, not only to offer a prayer, but also to enjoy the scene which was indeed imposing, of an immense edifice slowly

darkening with the gathering gloom. The lamp burns motionless in the middle of the chancel, and its dull light is reflected on the altar. The surrounding are so very beautiful as to have the effect of plunging the young man into deep meditation, in which dreams of love with its brilliant illusions were not absent. His attention is presently attracted by a moving object at the other end of the church, and as he advances he sees Leocadie on her knees before the chancel. She wears a dress of some light material, and her graceful figure is adorned with rose colored ribbon. The writer then indulges in raposodies upon her beauty. Suffice it to say that she is seventeen and attractive, and that the young man of twenty-five falls a victim to her charms. He learns that she is living with her aunt on the Cote des Neiges, and obtaining an introduction, he becomes a daily visitor at the house.

For three months he is unremitting in his attention and Leocadie has not the courage to tell him that her heart is given to another. Finally she commissions her aunt to make this painful avowal to the young man, and he is furious; swears to be avenged, and in the final interview which he requests, he bids Leocadie look at the sun and see how red it is. "It is red" he says "like fire, like blood, yea, like blood which must flow." And then in a dramatic style he leaves her hastily.

Chapter 5 is headed "Vengeance," and it also is highly dramatic. The accepted lover has returned, and the happy couple are shortly to be united in the bonds of holy wedlock. One fine Sunday after mass, the lovers walk together on the mountain. The account of their emotions would, I fear, be spoiled by a translation. They reach the Tower, and Joseph the accepted lover proposes that they should go in. As they set their feet upon the threshold of the door, a red cloud passes across the sun, and the shadow of death strikes the face of Joseph. Seeing this, Leocadie trembles and a tear drops from her eye. Joseph wipes it away

smiling: and leaning over the lovely maid he kisses her. At the same moment, as if the kiss had been a signal which the wretch was waiting for, he throws himself like a thunder bolt upon his two viciims. Leocadie has recognized the stranger. A knife gleams in his hand. She recalls the blood red sun, screams, turns pale and falls unconcious and lifeless at the feet of the assassin, who has stabbed her to the heart. Joseph springs upon him. He is unarmed, but he wishes to avenge Leocadie, or else to die with her whom he loves more than his life. There is a violent struggle, and the stranger lifts up Joseph with his strong arms and throws him to the ground beneath him. One knee upon his chest, he seizes him by the throat. The unhappy man makes vain efforts to free himself from the iron grip which is strangling him. His eyes roll convulsively in their sockets, his nerves stretch and all his limbs twist frightfully; the assassin does not lose his hold until the death rattle is heard, and then he knows that his vengance has been satisfied!

The concluding chapter is short, and is entitled "The Locket." It is as follows: Having finished the story, he folded with care the half torn leaves and returned them to a box from which he took out a kind of small locket. "See" he said, "this is Leocadie's hair. She wore this on her neck, and what you see on the other side is in the hand writing of Joseph."

The following acrostic appeared beneath the miniature of Leocadie:

L'e Dieu qu'à cythère on adore
E'n tes yeux fixa son séjour;
O'rnés de cils, mouillés encore,
C'est là que repose l'amour.
A'h! qui peut égaler les charmes
D'e ces yeux qu'amour embellit,
P'ris devant eux rend les armes
E't va se cacher de dépit.

—"Well," said he quite calmly and in a solemn voice, "you have heard the story: remember your promise!"

* * * * *

"Je m'éloignai rapidement de cet individu."

This, then, is the story of Trafalgar Tower. An addition to the romance in later years is that the murderer still prowls about the tower—in the spirit state, of course—and that his footsteps may be heard coming towards the scene of the murder. Indeed, in this year of grace 1890, a worthy citizen of Montreal, who had been reading up the Tower, made a pilgrimage to it one fine Sabbath morning, accompanied by his wife and little boy. As he stood upon the coping, looking through the gothic window, and examining the interior he distinctly heard the footsteps of some one approaching. His wife also heard the footsteps and advised him to come down, to avoid getting into trouble for trespassing but he continued his investigations until he judged from the sound that the feet usually associated with footsteps should be immediately behind him. Then he turned to examine the new comer, and was amazed to find not only no new comer, but no feet and not even a vestige of a foot print, although the light footfall left a trace upon the snow!

That these footsteps are an authentic part of the tradition appears from the following extract from a letter written by Mr. John William Molson of this city to Mr David Denne: Speaking of the Tower he says it "was used as a summer-house and look out for visitors; where my mother, Mrs. Molson, of Belmont Hill, in her young days, used to spend many happy hours. She also distinctly remembers the sound you mention . . . and the late Mr. Furniss repeatedly mentioned them but could not explain the cause, although unquestionably there must be one—others also heard them there. My mother attributes it to the volcanic and certain peculiar formation of the rocks, which, she thinks, cause a peculiar echo there and give forth sounds created at a distance, making them appear as if caused by some one on the

spot." Perhaps some geological friend will comment upon this theory. It is apparently agreed on all sides that the Tower was built to commemorate the victory of Trafalgar and as this took place 21st October, 1805, we need not search the title beyond this. In 1805, the property upon which the Tower stands belonged to John Ogilvy.

In 1836, it was purchased by Mr. Furniss and subsequently passed into the estate of Mr. Miles Williams, to which estate it now belongs. The Tower was built by Mr. Gillespie and as first constructed, had a crenulated top, upon which was placed a small cannon which awoke the echoes as each 21st of October dawned. It was soon found, however, that the snow which collected in this top did great damage to the roof and walls, through which it leaped in the spring, and when Mr. Furniss restored the Tower he covered it as shewn in the cut.

I have also been favoured with an extract from a letter written by Mr. Albert Furniss to Mr. J. W. Skelton of this city, in which he says : " When Mr. Albert H. Furniss was a very young boy, say in about 1846, he was shown two empty graves or holes situated about 150 feet below the site of the Tower, and was told by a local *raconteur* that they were the graves in which two murdered lovers had been buried."

A much more likely theory is that these two holes were test pits, dug to ascertain whether the ground was suitable for a cemetery, as in the very year which Mr. Furniss mentions (1846) a company was proposed and issued the following prospectus :

TRAFALGAR MOUNT CEMETERY.

To be incorporated by Act of Parliament.

Honorary Directors :

Jacob DeWitt, Esq., M.P.P.,
John Young, Esq.,
William Lyman, Esq.,
Francis Badgley, Esq., M.D.,
Thomas Mussen, Esq.,
William Workman, Esq.,
Henry Mount, Esq., M.D.,
William Rodden, Esq.,
J. B. Torry, Esq.
L. H. Holton, Esq.,
W. N. Crawford, Esq., N.P.

Solicitor :
Andrew Robertson, Esq.
Bankers :
The Provident and Savings Bank.
Superintendent :
Frederick B. Matthews.

The advantages of the modern practice of burial on the outskirts of cities in Europe and the United States have become so obvious, and with regard to Montreal so imperatively necessary, that it has finally been determined to establish a CEMETERY, upon the site of the Trafalgar Mount property adjoining, externally, the municipal boundary, to bear the very characteristic title of

THE TRAFALGAR MOUNT CEMETERY,

which will at present comprise a portion of SIXTEEN ACRES, or thereabouts, of the said property, to be enlarged as occasion may require.

The GROUNDS contain two very neatly constructed and commodious DWELLINGS, one of which is to be converted into a CHAPEL, until another more appropriate edifice can be built, for the performance of the burial service, and contiguous is a VAULT, for the temporary reception of the corpse, should the inclemency of the weather or other unpropitious circumstance preclude immediate interment.

The other dwelling is now occupied by the Superintendent, who, as well as the Gardener, will be in constant attendance, to ensure order and decorum, to ornament and preserve the grounds from violation, and to afford to the visitor every opportunity of promenading, or of selecting places of burial so disposed and intersected by serpentine walks, as to be approached without profanely treading upon circumjacent graves.

The extreme natural beauty of the situation, the vast, picturesque and diversified views it affords, the present advanced artificial improvement of the grounds, with

clumps of trees and plants, beds of flowers, natural terraces, and winding path to the TRAFALGAR TOWER peering from the summit of the MOUNT clothed with luxuriant arbors—contribute to render this spot peculiarly adapted to the purposes of a CEMETERY, the existence of which will at once be a source of attraction, usefulness and celebrity to the Metropolis of Canada.

An office has been opened in the City, for the transaction of all business concerning the CEMETERY, at which tickets of admission may be had gratis, hearses, omnibuses and cabs will be provided, which will enable parties so inclined, to limit the funeral cortege to executors and near relations of the deceased as customary in other cities.

The tariff of rates which will be upon an economical scale, for burial lots, excavation, hearse, and other contingencies, may be ascertained either at the office or at the cemetery ; and for the convenience of the public, the entire arrangements for interment may be effected by an order without further trouble to the applicant.

The Minute Book, containing copy of the articles of the Proprietary Association of the Cemetery, and minutes of all proceedings connected therewith, will remain in charge of the Superintendent, for the information of intending purchasers of burial lots.

Office : No. 19½ Great St. James Street.

MONTREAL, 22nd June, 1846.

From the foregoing data, the reader can select the true story of Trafalgar Tower.

THE LACHINE CANAL OF THE FRENCH REGIME.

By Mr. Robert C. Douglas, Ottawa.

Amid the famous men of Canada there stands forth in bold relief the tall and powerful figure of Dollier de Casson, whilom the brave dragoon, and now a priest and superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal.

This ecclesiastic, was like many others of the same order, who, being men of the world, were not wholly absorbed in their priestly duties and the care of souls, but in addition, devoted themselves to furthering the material benefit and welfare of the settlement on the Island of Montreal.

The settlers at Lachine had great difficulty in transporting their produce to Montreal on account of the dangerous rapids of "Sault St. Louis." Many batteaux and canoes, as well as the lives of those in charge, had been lost in descending these rapids.

M. Dollier de Casson, familiar with the canals of old France, then being constructed or in contemplation, conceival the project of constructing a canal from Lachine to Montreal. Upon it the intention was, to build a number of mills of all kinds; water-power being necessary on account of the lack at times of wind to propel the mills already constructed; from which cause the inhabitants of Montreal and surrounding country had frequently to eat whole grain boiled.

Reasons adduced for assistance from France, were that in some years it cost the King over 200 pistoles through loss in this, as it was called "une rapide impraticable, ou du moins très-dangereux"; also the King paid yearly 200 *écues* for cartage which would be avoided if batteaux were loaded at Montreal.

In October, 1700, M. Dollier de Casson made an agreement with Sieur Catalogne, at that time, lieutenant of Marine and Royal Surveyor, to excavate a canal from the

Grand, or St. Lawrence River, to the River St. Pierre. The cut would be some 800 toises in length, 12 feet (French) wide at the surface of ground, the greatest depth of cutting mentioned is 9 feet. The gentlemen of the Seminary were to allow the use of any tools in their possession, especially those suitable for rock excavation. In the event of Catalogne's death during the time of construction, his wife could complete the work. The contract price for the work was 3,000 livres and it had to be completed in June, 1701.

This contract, the first canal contract in Canada,—when the magnitude of the present canal system and this humble endeavour, as viewed from to-day, are compared,—possesses great interest. The preamble may be quoted—

30th October, 1700.—"Marché pour le canal de la Rivière St. Pierre entre Mr. Dollier et Sr. Catalogne.

"Furent présent Messire François Dollier de Casson, un des prêtres du Seminaire de St. Sulpice de Paris, Supérieure des ecclésiastiques de Ville-Marie,

"Et Sieur Gédéon de Catalogne, officier dans les troupes du detachement de la Marine et Arpenteur Royal."

The name of the notary executing this document was Adhemar.

Catalogne did not complete the canal at the date specified, the death of M. Dollier de Casson, in October, 1701, stopped the work.

Catalogne, in his memoirs says, having made the plans and superintended the works, the sudden death of M. Dollier de Casson cost him 3,000 *écues*.

With reference to this statement, the Seminary noted "c'est Catalogne qui parle, mais il ne dit pas la vérité."

After the death of M. Dollier de Casson, another Sulpician priest interested himself in the canal. M. de Breslay was a gentleman of the King's Chamber; disgusted with the world and the gay life of the court of Versailles, he sold his commission and devoted himself and his fortune to the Indian missions of New France. He was appointed curate

to the priest of Lachine in 1702. The importance of completing the work would come directly to his notice. He directed the attention of Vaudreuil and Beauharnois to the project. In their memoirs to the minister, 15th November, 1703, the canal is thus referred to :—" M. de Breslay's project of building a canal to Montreal would be of great utility to the Colony if constructed as commenced, and we beg of you to assist him in completing the work."

M. de Breslay agreed to contribute 3,000 francs towards the completion of the enterprise. Having expended his fortune in building a chapel and fort near St. Anne, through the straightened circumstances of his family, he was unable to fulfil his agreement ; he requested that he be discharged from it, which was done, the Seminary knowing his poverty.

The King's attention was drawn to the project, he asked for the plans and estimates, upon examination of which he said he could not undertake the work, on account of war he was engaged in, and that the work should be postponed until the time of peace, unless means could be devised to carry on the work without his assistance.

In 1717, the enterprising gentlemen of the Seminary again attempted to complete the canal. After expending 20,000 francs, the work was abandoned on account of the large amount of rock that required to be excavated. This was the last endeavour made to connect the waters of the River St. Lawrence with those of Lake St. Pierre.

The King was closing his long reign in disaster and gloom, leaving France in financial ruin and disorder. From nearly the inception of the canal to his death, a profitless and costly war prevented any assistance being granted towards completing the work. The Seminary, after two efforts, finding that, unassisted the construction of the canal would prove of too great a strain upon its finances, finally relinquished the work.

The Lachine Canal of the French *Règime* was an unfinished cut through which no craft has ever passed.

While standing near the entrance of the canal at Lachine, and looking on the massive masonry structures, and other works, impressive in their magnitude, we must not despise the insignificent cut to the north, a memento of the public spirit and enterprise of the gentlemen of the Seminary in its early days. The imagination carries us backward two centuries, where near by could be seen the valiant and large hearted Dollier de Casson and his engineer and contractor Catalogne discussing the method of attaining an end accomplished on so grand a scale by the works which we have just viewed.

From 1717 until the conquest, the project is from time to time commented upon by governors and intendants and engineers. In 1732, MM. Beauharnois and Hocquart advise the Minister to continue the work, and request that the engineer of the Colony be authorized to study the project. In their memoirs, 28th September, 1733, it is said that the study of the work showed great difficulties. M. de Lery, chief engineer, having surveyed the canal, made several plans and memoirs, he says, in this year, that, upon examination of the projected canal, a consideration of the enormous expense its execution would necessitate, induces him to give up the project.

In 1749, we find one M. de la Morandier proposing to M. Galissonière an elaborate plan for the completion of the work. (Plan in Library of Parliament).

A cutting was to be made from the St. Lawrence into the River St. Pierre, this river and Lake St. Pierre would then be used to the foot of the lake, where a mill had been built called "Moulin du Lac." This mill would be situated about where the Grand Trunk Railway crosses the present canal. The flood water of Lake St. Pierre was discharged into the River St. Lawrence by the brook St. Pierre. From this brook, at nearly opposite to the water-works pumping-station, a small canal had been excavated by the gentlemen of the Seminary, to convey water to the "Moulin du

Séminaire," situated near the south-east corner of the old College grounds. It is presumed from the letters upon the plan, that it was intended to have this canal enlarged for the purpose of navigation. It was the original design of the Seminary to build mills at the various falls in the canal, these two mills and the small canal were probably part of this design. The canal between the River St. Lawrence and the River St. Pierre would, as well as being used for navigation, supply water to Lake St. Pierre during dry weather when there would be a limited supply for the mill at its foot. The documents available do not show whether the differences in levels, for navigation purposes, were to be overcome by locks or otherwise.

I am indebted to the Rev. P. Rousseau, S.S.S., Montreal, for a copy of the agreement between Dollier de Casson and Catalogne, for the extract referring to the canal from the memoirs of Catalogne,(1) also other information. This reverend gentleman kindly filled up the missing links in the history of the canal other than was to be found in the copies of documents and plans in Library of Parliament, Ottawa.

[Mr. Douglas has very kindly made a copy of a map dated at Quebec, 4th October, 1733, signed Chaussegros de Levy, and inscribed "Carte d'une partie de l'Isle de Montréal depuis la pointe à Cardinal jusqu'au courant de Ste. Marie avec la ville de Montréal, le canal commencé par les Messieurs du Séminaire est depuis A jusqu'à B qu'ils ont abandonné n'ayant peu la profondir à cause du Roc. J'ai marqué le Profil en travers du Canal proposé." I regret that this map cannot be reproduced in this number.—Ed.]

(1) Mémoire du Sieur de Catalogne, ingénieur, sur les plans des habitations des gouvernements de Québec, de Montréal et des Trois-Rivières (à Vaudreuil et Begin, 7me novembre 1712). Parkman states this memoire is 70 pages in length and in the "Archives de la Marine."

REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUS.

By Mr. Ernest Cruikshank.

IV.

The restlessness and impatience of restraint, which are such marked characteristics of all Indian tribes, soon found expression again, and under date of the 21st of July, there is a record of a council at the cross-roads held evidently for the purpose of allaying growing discontent.

On this occasion, Claus opened the proceedings by saying:

"Brothers,—I congratulate you that you have been in sight of the enemy and have not met with any serious loss, and that only some of your people have been slightly hurt.

"Brothers,—When so many people of different languages and nations are assembled, many bad stories are abroad. I assure you that if any news or anything worth telling occurs, I will you. If you are uneasy you should let me know. Desiré of the La Cloche band has reported that it was their wish to turn their faces towards home. I thank you for your patience. When I came down with you, I did expect that we would have struck at Niagara before this, but something or other has turned up to prevent it. It cannot be many days before something must take place. The ships were to sail yesterday, and when they appear we shall know the day when we shall advance. I shall send a runner to-day to our people at the Grand River and shall add your words to mine."

Desiré then complained that his band had neither knives nor vermilion, and explained that the change of climate had caused some sickness, and that it was this and not fear of the enemy that made them think of returning to their homes.

On hearing this, the Fisher, first chief of the Ottawas, bluntly observed: "If they are sick how can they go home? They had better stay and await the event of the battle."

Yellowhead and two chiefs of the Chippewas were of the same opinion.

Another La Cloche, chief, then rose and said : " We live in the interior and do not live like other Indians. We live by hunting and must take care of our families. We wish you to give us a paper to get food along the road and to get our canoes across the carrying-place."

A third chief of the same band, however, stated shortly afterwards that since they were assured that the British fleet was out and that something would be done in a few days, he and his friends would remain.

All the other Indians seemed to have consented to this arrangement, for Claus replied : " Brothers, — I thank you, and will tell your father you still hold him by the hand. The liquor you ask for, you shall get, but I hope you will take it very cautiously when so near the enemy."

At that date, the investing force occupied the line of the Four-Mile Creek, with its left resting on the lake, while the right touched the river just above Field's point. The field-artillery commanded the lake road, where it crossed the creek, having a strong picket half a mile in advance, and was supported by several companies of the 104th. The first battalion of the 8th or King's regiment and a detachment of the 100th were encamped on their right. The Indians were in the centre, and the Glengarry light infantry and several companies of the Royal Scots held a position in front of St. David's and Queenston, next the river, with strong pickets pushed well forward on the two main roads leading to Niagara. Another road winding along the left bank of the creek furnished easy means of communication from one end of their line to another, and slight field works had been thrown up for the defence of the bridges over the the stream, which had almost dried up. The movements of any considerable body of the enemy could be closely watched from the summit of the heights. The main body of the American army still remained in their fortified camp near Fort George, but their outlying pickets, six in number, consisting of about fifty men each, established on the farther

side of the Two-Mile Creek, at the houses of Crooks, Secord, John Butler, Thomas Butler, McClellan, and Fields, were in plain view of the British advanced posts.

Very early in July, it had been determined to await the return of Sir James Yeo's squadron, before making any attempt to force the enemy's position, while on the other hand, General Boyd was likewise restrained by positive orders from the Secretary of War to risk no forward movement until Commodore Chauncey had regained control of the lake.

Notwithstanding the pledges given by them at the Conference near Queenston on the 5th of July, already referred to, many of the Six Nations residing in the United States had been induced to "take the hatchet," and a body of Senecas had been actually engaged against the British at Black Rock within a week after. This fact naturally created great excitement among the Canadian Indians, by whom it was denounced as a distinct breach of faith, although at the same time they displayed an evident reluctance to fight against them. The activity of the Indian department was seriously obstructed by other causes. It was contrary to the customs of some of the tribes to attack an enemy after sunset. The chiefs of the western nations were already quarrelling over the distribution of the annual allowance of presents, which had not yet arrived. To crown all, the mutual antipathy long subsisting between Claus and Norton had increased until they would scarcely speak to each other and as the Mohawk chief was generally regarded as a brave and skilful leader of his people in the field, his complaints could not be ignored, and the influence of the superintendent was gradually undermined.

But four days elapsed before another council was held, at which besides Colonel Claus, Major Givins, Captain Lorimier, Lieutenants Ferguson, Le Clair, and Lorimier were present. On this occasion, it became apparent that the Indians from

Lower Canada had become uneasy, and they finally gave notice of their determination to return to their homes in these terms :

" BROTHERS,—The Seven Nations of Canada salute you. We have remained here some time, and no time is mentioned when anything is likely to take place. Our young men are going and only the old people remain. At first we were told only four or five days and we would see the fight. We have waited patiently ; a month has passed, and it has not yet taken place. It is said that it is the fleet you are waiting for, and now that it is out, it cannot be long before it must, come and as we wish to see the end of this, we now tell you that we will wait ten days, and after that you will not think it hard if we return to do something for our families, and as the Six Nations have sent for their yonng men, we think that surely before the ten days are out they must be down and our small number will not be missed."

To this speech Claus replied :—

" BROTHERS,—I thank you. The general wishes me to speak to you on behalf of the poor people about us who have complained that they lose everything about their places and he requests that you will exert yourselves to prevent these acts of cruelty. It is very hard upon these poor people, for on the one hand they are injured by the enemy, and on the other by us."

A chief said :—" The provisions are not enough and the young men go on the hunt for something to eat. Your people take the poor people's things and our men are blamed."

The superintendent assured them that their wants should be supplied, and a chief known as The Echo replied : I hope our brothers from the West will listen and desist. We understand our father desires that no more liquor than the usual allowance should be given us. It is right. We see the injury it does.

" We are wrong and confess our faults. It seemed as if these men wished to side with the strongest. We have taken

many things, but any that are pointed out, we will give up."

Instead of Yeo's squadron, an American fleet of fifteen sail appeared and anchored in the mouth of the river. Small detachments of troops had been seen to arrive at their camp almost daily during the last two weeks, and it was reasonably conjectured that their army was still nearly as numerous as when it first landed, notwithstanding serious losses by battle, desertion, and disease.

Information received from an escaped prisoner induced General Boyd to project an attack upon the British magazines at Burlington Bay, but his design was suspected almost as soon as it was formed, and on the day succeeding the arrival of the fleet, Colonel Harvey addressed this note to Claus:

"HEADQUARTERS, July 28th, 1813.
"2 p.m.

"DEAR SIR,—There being reason to suspect that the enemy is directing his views against Burlington Bay, I request that you will not lose a moment in sending off to Grand River to collect all the Indians there to assist in its defence, for which, however, we have already a considerable regular garrison. Collect them immediately at Bazeley's."

The performance of this service was entrusted to Capt. W. J. Kerr, and his sudden appearance with a small party of Indians, on the evening of the following day, upon the flank of the detachment which had already been landed for the assault of the British position, hastened its re-embarkation without having accomplished anything.

Notes.

ANECDOTE OF REBELLION OF '37-8.—The following is a title item which may be of interest in connection with the events at St. Charles and St. Denis:—My grandfather, the late Douw K. Lighthall, the registrar of the Old County of Beauharnois, and living at Huntingdon, had among his

friends the Major Ward who afterwards died in the Sweeney duel. Major Ward came frequently to Huntingdon, which though a very small place, was, from the superior class of its inhabitants, a sort of centre for the District, on business connected with the establishment of a troop who remained there in garrison for some years. On one of these occasions during the Rebellion, he took my father, then a little boy, upon his knee and amused him by showing some dark stains on his sword and telling him that those were the blood of a rebel. His story was that at the recent fighting on the Richelieu, he found himself at one place alone with his orderly among a growing crowd of French-Canadians. He ordered them to disperse. Most of them seemed disposed to do so. One large man, however, refused, and made such violent menaces that imminent danger of a conflict and a riot arose, and, the man advancing upon Ward in a threatening manner, he was obliged, for these reasons, to run him through. The crowd, of course, fled, but when Major Ward, who was a powerful man, attempted to withdraw his sword from the body, he found all his strength ineffective to pull it out. It was only with the aid of his orderly, and by laying the dead man on the ground, that he finally did so.

W. D. LIGHTHALL.

CHATEAUGUAY LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Constitution and By-Laws. Society organized 26th October, 1888, Ormstown, P.Q. Officers for 1888-89. President, Lt.-Col. Archibald McEachern, C. M. G.; Vice-Presidents, J. E. Robidoux, Q.C., M.P.P., Edward Holton, M.P., Thomas Baird, Esq.; Recording Secretary, Peter McLaren, B.A., M.D.; Corresponding Secretary, Wm. Patterson, M.A.; Treasurer, Wm. McDougall, Esq. Councillors, Dr. McCormick, Wm. J. Bryson, Esq., Dugald Thomson, Esq., Dr. Hall, Rev. D. W. Morison, B.A.

Publications Received.

Kingston and the Loyalists of 1783. By Walter Bates. With Appendix.—The Diary of Sarah Frost. Edited with notes by Rev. W. O. Raymond, A.B., Rector St. Mary's Church, Saint John, N.B. Barnes & Co., Printers, 84 Prince William St., St. John, N.B., 1889. I am indebted to Mr. Jonas Howe, the Secretary of the N.B. Hist. Soc. for a copy of this interesting pamphlet.

Annual Supplement to the Catalogue of the Library of Parliament, in alphabetical and subject order, containing all books and pamphlets added to the library from January 10th, 1889, to January 10th, 1890. Printed by authority. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1890. The report of the Joint-Librarians which appears with this supplement calls special attention to the following additions to the American and Canadian Section:—"Vie de la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, par Charlevoix, Paris, 1735. Grönland's Historiske Mindesmoerker, 3 vols. Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, from the beginning in 1791 up to date; in all, 24 vols. (This collection contains a most valuable record of papers relating to the early history of the United States and Canada.) Leonard's Report (in manuscript, which has never appeared in print) on Nova Scotia, addressed to Lord Sheffield in 1789. A collection of the Missions des Oblats, in which are found many documents on the settlement of the Red River district and the North-West. We may also mention several works on Pre-Columbian discovery of America; and twelve letters written by the Hon. L. J. Papineau to Robert Christie, the historian; they refer to the last years of M. Papineau's political life." Amongst the other important additions to the Library is the donation of H. I. H. Prince Roland Bonaparte comprising valuable scientific works.

Murray's Illustrated Guide to Montreal and Vicinity. N. Murray, publisher, 1889. This is a neat little publication containing a new map of Montreal, description of places of interest, cab tariff, postal rates, U.S. Customs baggage inspection regulations, omnibus time table, &c. This is the third edition of this useful handbook.

The Canadian Church Magazine; and Missionary News, published by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. March, 1890. An illustrated Church magazine published at Hamilton, Ont. The editor and

manager is Rev. Chas. H. Mockridge, M.A., D.D., Windsor, N.S., and Rev. J. C. Cox, B.A., St. Lambert, P.Q., is the Business Agent.

THE CANADA EDUCATIONAL MONTHLY and School Magazine. Edited by Archibald MacMurchy, M.A., Tor. Univ. Toronto: The Canada Educational Monthly Publishing Company, Limited. The leading article in the March number, on the "Canadian Treaty-Indians," by the Hon. J. A. Boyd, Chancellor of Ontario, will be read with interest by all students of our history.

OLD NEW YORK, a journal relating to the History and Antiquities of New York City. W. W. Pasko, Editor, 16 Park Place. Vol. ii. No. 2. March, 1890. A seventy page quarto publication, containing a variety of interesting matter.

MR. CYRUS K. REMINGTON, of No. 11 E. Seneca St., Buffalo, N.Y. sends a copy of the Buffalo *Sunday Express*, 26th January, 1890, which contains an exhaustive article upon La Salle, and the building of the Griffon, 1679. The Buffalo Historical Society has decided to erect a monument to the memory of the great discoverer, and this article, which is illustrated, has been published to excite popular interest in the movement. If we cannot have a monument at Lachine, a Canadian contribution to the Buffalo monument would be a graceful compliment.

I was shewn recently a curious copy of Charlevoix voyages, in English, published in Dublin and printed by John Exshaw and James Potts, in Dame Street, 1766. It contains the maps and plates, and is in octavo. This copy is incomplete and was found in a garret by Mr. J. St. George Dillon, at his aunt's house, Thomastown Park, Co. Roscommon, Ireland, in 1888.

THE LATE SIR FRANCIS TURVILLE.

THE ELGIN PERIOD. THE LATE HON. MRS. ROBERT BRUCE.

INTERESTING REMINISCENCES.—These are two monographs by Mufti (Mr. Henry J. Morgan, Ottawa), reprinted from the Ottawa *Citizen* of 9th January and 12th February last, respectively. We trust they will be followed by other similar articles.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. II. APRIL, 1890. No. 4.

THE EARLY INTERPRETERS.

By Mr. John Reade, F.R.S.C.

In "The Right Honorable," a clever romance of society and politics by Justin McCarthy and Mrs. Campbell Praed, the reader is introduced to a Scottish professor, the business of whose life it is to write treatises and make speeches on the wisdom of universal disarmament, and the establishment of an international council, composed of one delegate from each of the nations of the world, civilized and uncivilized, for the settlement of all disputes. This council should assemble at the base of the Great Pyramid, which he had persuaded himself to regard as the centre of the earth. One of the incidental blessings which the international council would bring about was the adoption of an international language. As the council swelled in numbers and began to receive delegate after delegate from the various peoples and tribes, it would of course happen that some of them would not understand what the others said. Some common form of discourse would, therefore, be essential, and whatever might be the form agreed upon, each delegate, on returning home, would naturally teach it to his own people. The result would be the gradual institu-

tion of the tongue common to all the nations of the earth. The Scottish professor, with his universal language, is not entirely imaginary.

It was a favorite theory of the philosophic Leibnitz that the invention and application of such a language was far from being an impossibility. He admitted that its formation and arrangement would be attended with some difficulty, but he maintained that once it had been framed, it could, with comparative ease, be acquired by others. He died, however, before he was able to lay the outlines of his scheme before the world. Prof. Max Mueller is inclined to think that he had got the hint of his idea from Bishop Wilkins who, towards the close of the 17th century, published his essay "towards a real character and a philosophical language," but soon perceived that the plan of the English churchman was susceptible of considerable improvement. Of the bishop's work, Prof. Mueller says:— "Now, though it has been the fashion to sneer at Bishop Wilkins and his universal language, his work seems to me, as far as I can judge, to offer the best solution that has yet been offered of a problem which, if of no practical importance, is of great interest from a merely scientific point of view; and though it is impossible to give an intelligible account of the bishop's scheme without entering into particulars which will take up some of our time it will help us, I believe, towards a better understanding of real languages if we can acquire a clear idea of what an artificial language would be and how it would differ from living speech. The primary object of the bishop was not to invent a spoken language, though he arrives at that in the end, but to contrive a system of writing or representing our thoughts that should be universally intelligible." We have, for instance, the professor goes on to show, the arithmetical and astronomical signs—the figures, + and — (plus and minus), the signs for the sun, moon, the earth, Jupiter, and the other planets, and Bishop Wilkins thought that if, in

like manner, an easily recognized mark were assigned to every thing and notion, with some provision for inflections, we should have a much more easy and convenient language than any yet in being.

That suggestion, which was not, however, the one that the bishop ultimately carried out, was taken up in our own day by Don Simbaldo de Mas, envoy extraordinary from Spain to the Emperor of China, and developed in his "Idéographic." Therein he gives a list of 2600 figures, each of which has its own significance—the same sign being taken as noun, adjective, verb and adverb. (See "Science of Language," Vol. II Lecture 2). In the same connection may be mentioned the various attempts that have been made to compile a world alphabet, of which the most comprehensive and, perhaps, the latest is that of Prof. Melville Bell, an account of which is given in *Science*.

But of works of this kind, that which has undoubtedly attracted most attention is the Volapük, invented by Father Johann Martin Schleyer, of Constance, Baden, a treatise on which has been published by the firm of Hachette & Cie. An English translation, by W. A. Seret, has been published by Whitaker & Co., London, and Thomas Murray & Sons, Glasgow. A "Cours complet de Volapük," by A. Kerckhoffs, was also issued last year at Paris. It is sometimes called "the language of the world" as on the title page of the English translation, sometimes the "International commercial language," as in the title of an abridged grammar, by Karl Dornbusch, published by Hachette & Co., London, and W. Sondier, Paris.

How far it will make good its claim it is impossible to say, but it may be taken for granted that an invention which has won a large measure of approval from the scholars and business men of the three greatest nations of Europe cannot be altogether worthless, even if it should attain a success beyond what its most sanguine advocates may reasonably hope for it, there will still be occasion, for

generations to come, for the intermediation of the interpreter.

The part played in mankind's development by that useful and far too little considered functionary, the interpreter, has been an extremely important one. Whether there ever was a stage in human history where his services could be altogether dispensed with, is a question which we need not discuss. In the 11th chapter of Genesis we are told that once on a time the whole earth was of one language and one speech, but the *Kōl haaretz* of that passage may mean, according to some commentators, only all the land round about, that is, the region in which the Semitic tongues had their birth. The learned author of the "Histoire générale et système comparé des langues Semitiques" calls it a curious etymological myth, and explains it, in part, by the fact that Babylon was the destined meeting-place of so many different forms of speech. The gigantic tower of Belus would, he says, be naturally fixed upon as the point of departure of the nations of the then and there known world. However that be, the notion, once general, that all the languages of the earth are derived from a common parent speech is no longer of universal acceptance among men of science. Archdeacon Farrar long since discarded as an anachronism the view that language was revealed to man at the beginning of his existence, substituting therefor what he considers the more rational theory that it was a human discovery, the natural supply of men's urgent needs, for the development of which they had, however, the ground work in their vocal organs. Professor Sayce favors the view which is thus set forth in the introduction to Paley's Hesiod: "If some one language had been given to man at first, we cannot explain the phenomenon of great families of languages possessing hardly any (if any) common element. But we can easily explain this by supposing them to have been separate and wholly independent creations of the linguistic genius or faculty of man,

consequent on a distant and final dispersion of the first families."

Which ever theory we may adopt, one thing seems to be certain, that ever since men began to record events on stone, bronze, papyrus or parchment, the languages of the world have been as they are to-day, virtually numberless. The great civilized nations of the far past were brought constantly into association with peoples and tribes speaking different languages from their own. The Old Testament, the Greek and Latin writers, the records of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon and Persia, the literature of the Hindoos, the accredited histories of the Chinese, the Japanese and other nations of the far east, and the whole cycle of the written lore of Aryan Europe, and its kindred in the new world, tell the same story. That, in the relations, hostile or pacific, of heteroglott communities, some kind of bilingual mediation would be necessary stands to reason. We have, indeed, in Herodotus an example of the way in which trade was sometimes transacted without such aid. That enterprising tourist informs us that the Carthaginians used to have dealings with Libyan tribes who dwelt beyond the Pillars of Hercules; that when they reached their coasts, they were wont to place their merchandise on the shore and then, returning to their ships, kindle a fire, so as to produce a noticeable smoke. The natives on observing the smoke would then come down to the sea side, where they deposited their gold in exchange for the goods brought to them, and the Carthaginians having ascertained that the quantity was sufficient, sailed away. If they did not deem it a fair exchange for the commodities they had brought, they would leave the gold untouched and await the action of their customers. The latter, perceiving their object, would then add to the pile of gold until the strangers gave signs that they were satisfied. The natives then took their purchases and the Carthaginians carried off the gold which they had received as an equivalent. That this dumb

trade was in vogue to a considerable extent in early times at the outset of intercourse between civilized and uncivilized nations there is reason to believe. That it was also not uncommon among savage tribes who spoke different languages, may be inferred from the skill with which many of them have been able to converse with strangers when they have met for the first time. Instances of such intercourse frequently occur in the relations of the early voyagers and explorers to and through the American continent. The Carthaginians did not always, however, depend on the mere dumb intelligence of the natives of maritime or interior Africa. In the memorable voyage of Hanno, the Punic commander was furnished with interpreters by the shepherd tribes of the river Lixus. It is worthy of note, moreover, that it is to these friendly interpreters, who appear to have accompanied Hanno to his somewhat doubtful destination, that we owe a word which has found hospitality in the common speech, as well as the language of science, of all civilized nations. The word "gorilla," after being practically obsolete for so many ages, has been strangely revived in our generation by the adventerous traveller, Du Chaillu. As used in the "Periplus" it seems to designate a race of hairy savages, fierce and intractable, who defended themselves with staves. Three women of them were taken, but as their captors could not induce them to go aboard the ships, they slew them and brought their skins to Carthage.

[To be continued.]

It is said the first Directory of Philadelphia, published in 1785, contains the following:—

"D'Orleans, Messrs., Merchants, near 100 South Fourth-Street." These persons were no others than Louis Philippe and one of his brothers, who lived at the North-west corner of Fourth and Princes Streets, in a house standing until recently, and numbered 110. H. M.

LORD AMHERST'S HEAD-QUARTERS, MONTREAL.

[*8th September*, 1760.]

The site of Lord Amherst's camp immediately prior to the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, has been referred to lately by several of our local historians and a *photo* of the ruins of the old "farm house" on the plateau immediately beyond the crest of the Cote-des-Neiges Hill, has been published in the "Dominion Illustrated" as the place where these articles of capitulation were signed. I contribute my mite to the traditional story generally accepted, awaiting documentary evidence of which I understand none exists.

The story as narrated to myself many years since by an old British officer in charge of St. Helen's Island when it was occupied by the imperial troops was this: That Lord Amherst with his army having advanced through the State of New York toward Canada, took to his boats at Oswego, crossed Lake Ontario, ran the rapids of "Long Sault," "Cedars" and "Cascades" (where he suffered heavy loss) and landed at Lachine. There he abandoned his boats at the entrance to a canal or small river in that neighbourhood,* and then advanced on the city by land. This much is authenticated.

The route taken from Lachine to Montreal is not known with certainty, but it is generally admitted that he did not follow the river bank; and to avoid the low swampy islands on the Rivière St. Pierre level, gained the Blue Bonnets terrace, and then struck across country to the heights commanding the city known as the Trafalgar property

* Within the last few years, boats embedded in the weeds have been found at the entrance of what is known as the Old Lachine Canal, a few acres south of the mouth of the first provincial canal between Lachine and Montreal.

where he halted and occupied as his headquarters an old house there.

Any one visiting this locality will notice that the house even judging from the ruins is an old one, and the only one in the neighbourhood having any pretention to antiquity. This is confirmed by the old French gable roof (as seen to-day in the old houses on the Island of Orleans and known to date back to 1760) which appears in the building connected with the main one, and which was probably the original building of some old settler.

As the story continued, Lord Amherst from this point dispatched an aide-de-Camp, on the 8th September, 1760, to the Marquis of Vaudreuil, the Governor, with a formal demand in writing (under conditions) for the surrender of the city. That the aide-de-Camp hastened to the city and enquired for the Governor at the Intendants Bureau (then in St. Jean-Baptiste Street).* That he learned the Governor was absent, but having explained the nature of his business, and that he was expected back at the camp with an answer for the General within two hours, he was transported to St. Helen's Island, where he found the Governor with the Chevalier de Levis. The latter had retired thither with his troops, and was prepared and desirous to "fight it out on that line." After a short discussion and a non-availing request *by the Governor* for "better terms" the document was signed in spite of the protest of the Chevalier de Levis.

The Governor it is narrated placed the document against a large elm tree standing at the head of the Island where they were, and attached his signature thereto in pencil.

This tree pointed out to me by the narrator, was destroyed by lightning about the year 1860, and reference to the same was made at the time of its destruction in the local press as "the tree where the capitulation of Montreal had been signed one hundred years before."

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* This old house now belonging to Messrs. Kerry, Watson & Co., is still in existence.

Whether more formal articles were executed subsequently at the "Trafalgar Chateau" is not for me to state. This much, however, I do say, that the Island of *la belle Hélène* (the wife of Champlain), and this old tree which stood as sentinel thereon for many a century should be credited with the post of honour.

Of this Island gem, Lesperance says (Illustrated Canada) in his exquisite simile, "looking from the crest of the Royal Mountain it appears as a green leaf floating on the silvery St. Lawrence."

Truly this Island is the worthy rival of that Isle immortalized by Scott as the home of the Lady of the Lake (another Ellen), in that beautiful line,

"Like emerald set in burnished gold."

However, now the "old house" is in ruins, the "old tree" blasted, the swords of the warriors laid aside and they themselves at rest, having left us the representatives of the two branches of the same old human race re-united in a Canadian nationality upholding the British standard with the French escutcheon of "Dieu et Mon Droit" and possessors of the northern half of this continent; the issue of the capitulation signed in this peace-bearing Trafalgar chateau.

MABEL.

Notes.

The following Extract of a Representation of Sir Lewis Kirk concerning Acadia, was kindly forwarded by Mr. Douglas Brymner, in connection with the note at p. 103 of Vol. I.:—

"Afterwards a war arising between His Majesty King Charles the 1st and Lewis the 13th, anno 1627 and 1628, Sir David Kirk and his brethren and relations of England did by virtue of His Majesty's commission, send to sea at their great charge, first three, afterwards seven ships with warlike preparations for recovering of the possession of the

said lands lying on either side of the said river Canada, and to expel and eject all the French trading in those parts wherein they had good success, and in the year 1627, did there seize upon about eighteen of the French ships, wherein were found 135 pieces of ordnance designed for relief of the Royal Fort in L'Accadie and Quebeck in Nova Francia, under the command of Mr. de Rockinand and Mons. de la Tour Father of de la Tour Governor of the said Royal Fort, whom together with the said ships and guns they brought into England.

"And in the year 1628, they possessed themselves of the whole region of Canada or Nova Francia, situate on the north side of the river, together with the fort or castle of Quebec. Sir Lewis Kirk being then constituted Governor of the place, the French being then either expelled or conveyed into England, and the arms of the King of England being publicly there erected and every where placed. And before the year 1628, it was brought to pass by the said Sir William Alexander (assisted by both the advice and charge of the said Kirk), that in the parts of L'Accadie or Nova Scotia, on the south side of the river Canada, the whole, with the forts thereon built being by him subdued presently, come under the power of the King of England, that region in the south side falling into the possession of the said Sir William Alexander, and that on the north side into the possession of the Kirks."

A photographic copy of the following deed is in the Library of McGill College, presented by Mr. Albert J. Hall of New Westminster, B.C. Can any of our readers give its history or the circumstances connected with its execution?

"This indenture, made and concluded the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, between the native Indians formerly belonging to the Mohawk Castle at Fort Hunter, in the late

county of Tryon, now Montgomery, but now of Nassau, in the Province of Quebec, whose names are subscribed and seals affixed to these Presents of the first Part, and the People of the State of New York of the second Part, Witnesseth that the said Partys of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of Seven Hundred Pounds Lawfull money of the State of New York to the said Partys of the first part, by the said Party of the second part in hand paid at and before the ensealing and Delivery of these presents, the Receipt whereof is hereby confessed and acknowledged, Have and each of them hath, granted, bargained, Sold, alien'd remised and released, and by these Presents do and each of them doth Grant, Bargain, Sell, Alien, Remise and Release and Confirm, unto the said Party of the second Part in their actual possession now being, and to their Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns for Ever, all their Right, Estate, Title, Interest and Demand whatsoever, of, in, and to, all that Certain Tract of Land, Situate, lying, and being on the South side of the Mohawk River, in the late County of Tyron, now Montgomery, in the State of New York, Beginning at the North-West corner of Babington's Patent on the Mohawk River, from thence up the River to Arie's Creek, or the East Corner of Capt. Scott's lands, and from thence round the several Patents until it strikes Babington's Patent, and from thence to the place of beginning, Comprehending all the Lands claimed by us (the Indians, late of Fort Hunter Castle) on the south side of the Mohawk River, together with the appurtenances. To have and to hold the said Premises with the Appurtenances unto the said Party of the second Part, their Heirs and Assigns for Ever, To the only use and behoof of the said party of the second Part, their Heirs and Assigns for ever.

"In witness whereof the Partys have hereunto sett their hands and seals at Nassau, the day and year first above written.

"Signed, Sealed and Delivered in Presence of

RALFE CLENET.
HENDRICK DILL.
CAPT. JOS. BRANT.
PETER P. SCHUYLER.
his
HENRY × MARACHE.
mark
his
NICHOLAS × FORBUSS.
mark
W. B. SHEEHAN.

} Here follow thirty-nine signatures. The Indian names are for the most part illegible, but many of the pseudonyms are characteristic, *e.g.* Young Brant, Capt. John, Old Lydia, Seth Capt. Isaac, Seth, Junr., David Daniel, Katerine, Catharine, and a host of other female names.

"I do certify that the above instrument of writing was executed in my presence by the Sachems, Chiefs, and principle men and women of the Mohawks, formerly of Fort Hunter Castle, they being the true and real Proprietors of the above described Lands."

JOHN BUTLER,
Depty. Supt. of Indian Affairs.

The above writing was executed in Full Council in Witness whereof, we have hereunto sett the seal of our Nation.

CAPT. JOS. BRANT,
In behalf of the Canajoharies.
CAPT. DAVID HILL,
In behalf of the Mohawks.

It has generally been supposed that the popular phrase, "*Do not see it*," was of modern origin. But in looking over Stone's *Life of Sir William Johnson*, Vol. II., p. 337, I observe that a distinguished Mohawk Indian, Abraham, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1770, said to Sir William Johnson :—

"You told us that we should pass our time in peace, and travel in security; that trade should flourish and goods abound, and that they should be sold to us cheap. This would have endeared all the English to us—*but we do not see it.*

Isidore Bédard, author of the following spirited lines, was born in Quebec, in 1806, and died in Paris on 14 April, 1833. He was the son of the Hon. Pierre Bédard, founder of "Le Canadien" newspaper, who was afterwards appointed Judge for the district of Three Rivers. Isidore early began to write short poems, published in "Le Canadien," which attracted much notice. For a short time he represented the county of Saguenay in the Provincial Parliament. His early death was deeply regretted.

1829.

HYMNE NATIONALE.

(*From Huston's Répertoire National. Vol.* 1, *p.* 182.

Sol canadien, terre chérie !
Par des braves tu fus peuplé ;
Ils cherchaient loin de leur patrie,
Une terre de liberté.
Nos pères sortis de la France
Etaient l'élite des guerriers,
Et leurs enfants de leur vaillance,
Ne flétriront pas les lauriers.

Qu'elles sont belles nos campagnes !
En Canada qu'on vit content !
Salut, ô ! sublimes montagnes,
Bords du superbe St-Laurent.
Habitant de cette contrée,
Que nature sait embellir,
Tu peux marcher tête levée,
Ton pays doit t'énorgueillir.

Respecte la main protectrice
D'Albion, ton digne soutien ;
Mais fais échouer la malice
D'ennemis nourris dans ton sein.
Ne fléchis jamais dans l'orage,
Tu n'a pour maître que tes lois.
Tu n'est pas fait pour l'esclavage,
Albion veille sur tes droits.

Si d'Albion la main chérie
Cesse un jour de te protéger,
Soutiens-toi seule, ô ma patrie !
Méprise un secours étrange.
Nos pères sortis de la France
Etaient l'élite des guerriers,
Et leurs enfants de leur vaillance
Ne flétriront pas les lauriers.

"Mufti" (Mr. H. J. Morgan) has communicated to the Ottawa *Citizen* some interesting particulars of a lady recently deceased—the Hon. Mrs. Robert Bruce—who took a prominent place in Montreal and Quebec society forty years ago. She was the wife of Col. Bruce, of the Grenadier Guards, brother of Lord Elgin, whose military secretary and principal A.D.C. he was. She lived in Canada from 1848 to 1854, making many friends by her cheerful and winning ways. After her husband's death, in 1862, she was appointed by Her Majesty to an important position in the Royal household, and remained on duty there until her death. J. P. E.

A TRIP FROM NEW BRUNSWICK TO QUEBEC.

In the *Monthly Magazine;* or, *British Register*, published in London, March 1st, 1808, is the following "brief account of a very unusual tour":—

"Last winter I received orders from our Colonel to proceed to Canada upon urgent business. On the 12th of March I set out from this place on snowshoes, *à la sauvage*, with a knapsack on my back. I was attended by a stout private of our regiment, a guide, and a large dog, who drew a small sledge loaded with provisions, blankets and other necessaries. The weather was extremely cold, and the snow in general three and four feet deep. Our route lay about N. W. for one hundred and fifty miles up the river St. John. The usual method is to travel on the ice, but unfortunately it was broken up or dangerous, so that we were forced to strike into the woods, and force our way through wilds untrod by human feet. We reached the "Grand Falls" in six days (150 miles), marching from sunrise to sunset. The fatigue baffles all description; walking on snowshoes, encumbered with a knapsack, through thick woods, up and down steep hills.

"We contrived to get into a house every night except one, when we encamped in the snow. This is a curious way of

spending the night. We halt in a convenient place, and immediately set to work, one cutting down trees, and preparing fuel for the night, whilst another digs out the snow with his snowshoe, so as to form a pit, on one side of which a large fire is made, opposite to which we lie down on a couch of spruce boughs, wrapped up as well as we can, with the pleasure of being almost roasted on one side, frozen on the other, and stifled with smoke.

"At the Grand Falls is a small military post, where we keep a few men. Here I remained one night. On the 18th, having dismissed my guide and procured a horse, I set out with my attendant, and travelled 35 miles through a small French settlement, and that night slept at the last house in New Brunswick. On the 19th we marched all day in a snow storm, and encamped at night.

"20th. Proceeded across a lake, on the bank of which we encamped.

"21st. Entered on the Grand Portage, or land, which separates the lake from the St. Lawrence; encamped as usual.

"22nd. Proceeded at dawn of day, and marching almost without any halt until five o'clock P. M., we reached a house about 110 miles below Quebec. During the last four days we had not even a trace of human beings, except sometimes the track of an Indian snowshoe. I was almost knocked up with fatigue, having travelled in this manner upwards of 300 miles in eleven days.

"On the 23rd I hired a sledge and set out for Quebec, which place I reached in two days; rested three days, and proceeded to Montreal, 190 miles higher, where I remained until the 5th of May.

"Being determined to take a new route home, I set out as soon as the rivers were freed of the ice, and proceeding south about 27 miles to Fort St. John, on the river Chambly, embarked in a sloop, and sailing with a fine wind up Lake Champlain, reached the south end of it in less than twenty-four hours, a run of 150 miles. I landed, and proceeded 70

miles to a fine thriving town on Hudson's river. I went to Albany, six miles below, where I embarked on board a sloop, and in four days landed at New York, 165 miles. Here I embarked in a coaster for St. John, New Brunswick, which place I reached after a boisterous passage of five days. Two days more brought me here, which concluded a curious tour, having made a circuit of nearly 1700 miles.

"My limits will not allow me to attempt a description of places. I shall merely remark that Canada is a very fine country, and the banks of the noble river St. Lawrence thickly settled. Montreal is a large thriving town, being the headquarters of the great Fur Company, and the dépot between Europe and the extensive country of Upper Canada. We have now very pleasant weather at Fredericktown. Two nights ago we had a sharp frost, and to-day the thermometer is at 84 in the shade. On the 23rd of January last the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 36 below zero at sunrise. With all this variation, the climate is remarkably healthy.

"New Brunswick, Fredericton, June 19th, 1807."

SOCIETIES.

The Society for Historical Studies and the Society of Canadian Literature have continued their joint meetings throughout the season, and much interest has been shown. On 18th March, Mr. John Popham read a paper on Isabella Valency Crawford; the evening of the 1st of April was devoted to the reading and discussion of Historical Notes and Queries, when a number of questions on knotty points of Canadian history were submitted; and on 15th inst., Rev. Mr. Cruchet favored the societies with a paper on "Garneau, the Historian."

Two more meetings will be held, the first of which to be on the 29th inst., when Mr. John Reade will give a paper on "Chief Justice Lafontaine," to be followed, on 13th May, by a paper from Mr. Horace T. Martin on "Sir William Logan."

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

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THE EARLY INTERPRETERS.

By Mr. John Reade.

(Continued.)

It was in Egypt that provision was first made for a regular and constant supply of interpreters. According to Herodotus (II. 164) they constituted the sixth class into which the community was divided—priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, and tradesmen coming before them, and pilots following. Plato mentions but six, Diodorus, but five classes, both omitting that of interpreters. That they existed, nevertheless, there seems no reason to doubt, as Diodorus gives an account of their first establishment, which is virtually identical with that of Herodotus. The story runs that Psammitichus, having overcome his rivals by the aid of certain Ionian and Carian mercenaries, granted them lands, near the city of Bubastis, on the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, and put Egyptian children under their care to be instructed in the Greek language, and it was from them that the interpreters of Egypt were descended.

A man who had dealings with the same nation of Asiatic Greeks was Gyges, King of Lydia, the Gog of the Old Testament, the Gugu, of the Assyrian inscrip-

tions. Towards the middle of his reign, his dominions were overrun by the Kimmerians, the Gomer of the Bible, the Gemirrai of Assyrian epigraphy and the Asiatic kinsmen of our western Kymry. They pushed him so hard that he was driven to sue for help to the potent Assur-bani-pal, to whom he even consented to become tributary, if Lydia were only rid of its harassing foes. But an awkward obstacle intervened between the planning and consummation of the embassy. There were no interpreters, and it was only after considerable delay that a person could be found to act as intelligible spokesman for the Lydian envoys. When it was announced at the capital that men in uncouth attire and of strange speech had appeared on the Assyrian frontier, they were ordered to be brought before the great king. They bent low in the attitude of suppliants, but what they said none of Assur-bani-pal's courtiers understood. Then the king ordered a parade of all the foreigners in his realm, if haply there might be found any who could translate the words of the new-comers. At last a man appeared who knew enough of Lydian speech to inform His Majesty that Gyges begged his assistance. Soon after came a second embassy with rich presents and two of the refractory Kymry bound in fetters. But Gyges, freed from the terror of his foes, forgot his vows of submission and sided with Psammitichus in his war against Assur-bani-pal. His treachery gained him little, for the Kimmerians broke out again, and he had to fight not only unaided, but with the moral force of the Assyrian king on the side of the aggressors. He fell in battle, but his son Ardys drove out the Kymry and again made friends with Assur-bani-pal. Out of that succession of troubles arose the movement of the Greeks to Egypt and the institution there of the class of interpreters, already referred to. For it was through the influence of Gyges that the Ionian and Carian troops, who settled afterwards at Bubastis, were sent to King Psammitichus.

To follow the history of interpreting, political, commercial and social, in those distant ages, would be to trace the course of migration, of conquest, of trade and of colonization over a great part of the then known world. It is only here and there, however, and incidentally that we are brought face to face with a class of men, whose presence we feel in all this moving to and fro of humanity. Often between two or among several contiguous but alien communities there grew up, as in later times, a sort of *lingua franca* intelligible to both or all. Such a service was rendered, as Prof. Sayce tells us (The Ancient Empires of the East, p. 174), by the Aramaic which, after the fall of Tyre and Sidon under the second Assyrian Empire, superseded the older forms of speech and became the language of trade and diplomacy over a considerable portion of the Hither East. What is called a *lingua franca* must, of course, be looked at separately from that other outcome of the effort to do without interpreters, among nationalities thrown constantly together, which has been fitly designated jargon. This class of speech—to which, perhaps, philologists have not paid sufficient attention as a factor in the formation of new tongues—has generally come into existence under circumstances which would ordinarily call for the services of an interpreter. As well-known instances of it, may be mentioned the Chinook jargon of the northern Pacific coast, the Nahua-Spanish of Mexico, and the Pigeon English of the Anglo-Chinese.* That lingo of this kind was not un-

* I have just received through the courtesy of the learned author, an extremely valuable contribution to the elucidation of this branch of linguistics from the pen of the most accomplished master of the philology of the aboriginal languages of this continent, Mr. Horatio Hale, M.A., F.R.S. Can., Ethnographer and Philologist of the U. S. Exploring Expedition. It is entitled "A Manual of the Oregon Trade Language, or 'Chinook Jargon'"—a subject with which Mr. Hale was the first to deal scientifically some forty years ago. The volume is published by Messrs Whittaker & Co., White Hart Street, Paternoster Row, London.

known to the ancient world, we have hints, more or less significant, scattered through the authors of antiquity.

It would be interesting to know whether there was any such common tongue to the hosts of mercenaries from all parts of the world that served under the Carthaginians in the Punic wars, such as we find so vividly depicted in "Salammbo."

Some of the kings and generals who reigned over a variety of races were accomplished linguists. Mithridates, king of Pontus and Bithynia, spoke, according to Aulus Gellius (Noct. Att. xvii. 17), no less than twenty-five distinct languages, never seeking the aid of an interpreter when he had to communicate with any of the people under his sway. The Roman Senate, for centuries, prompted by pride and in order to maintain its dignity before outsiders, pursued just the opposite course. We learn from Valerius Maximus (ii 2. 2) that even to the Greeks they insisted on speaking Latin, "so that the latter, casting aside that volubility in which they excelled, were forced to speak through an interpreter, not in Rome only, but throughout the empire, and even in Asia and Greece, that reverence for the Latin language might be diffused through all nations." "Who, then," he continues, "opened the door to that usage which now deafens the ears of the Senate with Greek pleadings? Molon, the rhetor, I believe, who was such a spur to the literary ambition of Cicero. He it was who first of all foreigners was heard without an interpreter."

Nevertheless, for purposes of trade, there was no lack of interpreters in the outlying parts of the empire. At Dioscurias (now Iskuria), an old Milesian colony in Colchis, there were as Pliny (Hist. Nat. vi. 15) informs us, at one time no less than one hundred and thirty persons acting in that capacity, so great was the concourse of various tribes and tongues who came to trade in that locality. We know also that interpreters were constantly employed in connection with war and diplomacy.

Polybius refers to them in his history of the relations between Rome and Carthage. In one passage he makes a Celtic chief act as interpreter between the Carthaginians and his own people. In another he says that a Gaul, Anbaritus, had learned to speak Punic so well that the Carthaginians found no difficulty in understanding him. Livy (xxvii 43) states that a letter from Hasdrubal to Hannibal, which had been despatched through certain Gaulish and Numidian horsemen, had been intercepted near Metapontum and brought to Quintus Claudius, the propraetor, who had it read to him by an interpreter—the captives being also questioned as to its contents. Cæsar, (i. 19) in describing his private interview with Divitiacus, uses an expression which makes it plain that the interpreter was an official of primary importance on his campaigns (quotidianis interpretibus remotis.) Cicero, in his treatise on Divination (De Divinatione, ii, 64) compares the obscurity of so-called revelations from the Gods to the use of their own tongue in the Roman Senate by Carthaginians or Spaniards without an interpreter; and in the De Finibus (v. 29) he uses the same illustration in deriding the wordy darkness of certain philosophers. "As in the Senate," he says, "there is always some one who asks to speak through an interpreter, so we require an interpreter in listening to them." Under the Empire the interpreter was still more necessary. He continued to be, in the western half of it, a person of prominent usefulness until the inrush of the Barbarians. The story of Vigilius, the would-be assassin, of Attila, so dramatically told by Gibbon, shows that he was still a man of influence for good or evil when the spirit and the power of Imperial Rome were in the last stages of decay. In the Eastern Empire and in the realms beyond and in the states that rose upon the ruins of Rome his functions were exercised as actively as ever, while the preaching of Christianity to the nations of the world added to his consequence and dignity. The story of his labors as a missionary, or the companion

and helper of missionaries, forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Christendom—a chapter not yet completed. Between the fall of the western empire (A.D. 476) and the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the growth of nations, languages and states in Europe, the rise of Islam, the raids of the Northmen, the conquests of the Arabs, the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire, the Crusades, the spread of commerce to the distant East, the sending of embassies and the exchange of courtesies between sovereigns of realms remote from each other—as between Charlemagne and Haroun al Raschid, and between the latter and the King of Corea, pilgrimages and voyages —these and countless other incidents in the progress of civilization tended to keep alive the influence of the interpreter.

It is not unworthy of mention that the extremely common word "talk" is a perpetual reminder to all of English speech of a time when their Scandinavian ancestors conversed with their Lithuanian neighbors through an interpreter—*tulkas*, in the tongue of the latter people having that meaning. "Talk" has the distinction of being the only word of Lithuanian origin in the English language. In like manner, the word "slave" points back to a time when "from the Euxine to the Adriatic and away north to the Baltic, in the state of captives or subjects, the Slavonians overspread the land." A word, much less common, but equally pertinent to the subject of this paper, is "chouse," meaning to "cheat," which is simply the Turkish term for interpreter. It was at first slang and its use arose from a fraud having, in 1609, been practised by an official of that class and nation on several English merchants. The dragoman (a word allied to the Chaldee *targum*, interpretation or version) may be a cheat in his own land but there he is or was a much less audacious fellow than the turbaned Turk, who swaggered in the England of King Jamie. De Busbecq, one of the earliest of the ambassadors sent to Con-

stantinople after the conquest, has left an account of his presentation to Solyman the Magnificent, and of the awe which his presence imposed among the courtiers and officials of the palace. The tradition was kept up—though foreigners had long ceased to cower at the Sultan's name—even as late as the beginning of the second quarter of this century. In describing the visit of Lord Strangford and his suite to Mahmoud in 1826, the Rev. W. Walsh says that the ambassador's speech was translated to the Sultan by his trembling dragoman, and that his majesty's reply, after being hesitatingly repeated by the Vizier, was by the dragoman stammered out in French to the ambassador. "The dragoman's terror," he adds, "was deplorable; the perspiration dropped from his countenance and no wonder: his predecessor had just been executed and he had no hope of escaping the same fate, nor did he." A much less melancholy account of the manner in which the Levantine interpreter discharges his duty will be found in Kinglake's "Eothen."

In Sir John Mandeville's time it would appear that intercourse was sometimes facilitated by the unexpected linguistic accomplishments of the believers in the prophet. The old English traveller was surprised to discover that the Sultan of Babylon (Cairo) and his courtiers could speak French perfectly well. Marco Polo learned to read and write, as well as to converse in four Tartar dialects. Though some have jealously denied that he understood Chinese, he must have been fairly well acquainted with it to administer a province of the empire for three years—the only instance, according to Williams, of a foreigner holding a civil office in China until the present century.

(To be Continued.)

THE ITINERARY OF JACQUES CARTIER'S FIRST VOYAGE.

By Mr. W. F. Ganong, Cambridge, Mass.

There have lately appeared two admirable works on the life and voyages of Jacques Cartier, the one by Dr. N. E. Dionne at Quebec, (1889) and the other by Mr. Joseph Pope, at Ottawa (1890). These, as is well known to the readers of Canadiana, were the best essays in French and English respectively, which were presented in competition for the prizes on this subject so liberally offered by the Honorable M. A. R. Angers, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. The object of the present note is to call attention to a statement in the former, which is, to say the least, inaccurate.

After mentioning some errors in earlier interpretations of Cartier's First Voyage, Dr. Dionne, on p. 227, goes on to say :—" On the 25th May, 1887, Mr. W. F. Ganong, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass., communicated to the Royal Society of Canada, a very elaborate study on the route followed by Cartier. The opinion which he expresses on this subject was shared before by other Canadian historians, such as MM. les abbés Laverdiére and Casgrain." This implies that the interpretation of the course given by me in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1887, was not new, something which is a surprise to me. I would greatly regret if I have done an injustice to my predecessors in this field, by assuming, and freely stating, as I have, that my interpretation of the course is different from any preceding one. But before I need acknowledge that I have been thus unjust, I must know further Dr. Dionne's authority for his statement. He of course refers to those parts of the route in which the narrative is most obscure, i.e., about Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, and about Anticosti ; for as to all other parts of the course there has been a substantial agreement, except as to minor

points, among all who have written on the subject. Now my most careful search has failed to reveal to me anything that M. l'abbé Casgrain has written on this subject, nor does Dr. Dionne in his work, mention any such. To what work of his then does Dr. Dionne refer? The only publication of M. l'abbé Laverdière which is concerned with this subject of the first voyage, that I can discover, is his tracing of the course on M. Genest's Historical Map of Canada of 1875. But that differs entirely from mine, sending him direct from the Magdalenes to Miramichi Bay, and from Gaspé up the St. Lawrence, a view directly opposed in both cases to those expressed in my memoir, and now held both by Dr. Dionne and Mr. Pope. One or two historians indeed had previously held our view, that Cartier went to the east around Anticosti, but no writer had held that he visited Prince Edward Island. It is obviously unfair then, to say that my interpretation of the course had been previously held by others. If held by others, it was unpublished, and it should have been so stated by Dr. Dionne. Indeed, I do not hesitate to make unequivocally the statement, that prior to the appearance of my paper in 1888, (in Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada for 1887), there never appeared in print an interpretation of Cartier's course which was like mine in that important part of the course in which the narratives are most obscure, i.e. in the region about Prince Edward Island. There are some other points also, in which my interpretation differs from any previously published. I fear that Dr. Dionne's admiration for the work of his learned French brethren has led him to give rather too much credit to them, and rather too little to his English co-worker.

On the other hand, it is a source of satisfaction to me, that both Dr. Dionne and Mr. Joseph Pope, in their respective works, interpret the course almost exactly as I do throughout, Dr. Dionne's interpretation indeed agreeing almost absolutely and Mr. Pope's differing only in minor

points. This agreement of Dr. Dionne and Mr. Pope in my views is one of the best proofs I have of their substantial correctness. I have the best of reasons for believing, however, that Mr. Pope had worked out, before the appearance of my paper, an interpretation very similar to mine, and in at least one of the points in which he differs from me, i.e. as to a part of the course on the west coast of Newfoundland, his view is clearly nearer the truth than mine.

Dr. Dionne does not appear to have read my paper with care, for on page 231 of his work, he misquotes a statement of mine, and then proceeds to give, as if it were his own discovery, the reason why Cartier went to the east around Anticosti, instead of up the St. Lawrence, whereas this is all stated in the plainest English on the same page of my paper. However, these matters can safely be left to the judgment of future historians.

DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

By Mr. J. M. LeMoine, F.R.S.C.

Mr. George Murray will receive the thanks of students of Canadian history for the interesting note by him, which appeared at p. 161, Vol. I, Canadiana, on the death of General James Wolfe. He therein impartially reviews the conflicting accounts of the mode of his death and furnishes the names of the various persons who helped carry the hero to the rear when wounded. There is for the honor, more than one Richard in the field; four champions so far.

Lt. Browne's letter to his father, subsequently the Earl of Altamonte, could not be more circumstantial, "he was the person who carried Wolfe off the field," and the General died in his arms. But "a grenadier of the 28th (Bragg's) and a grenadier of the 58th (Anstruthers'), also lay claim to assisting the dying warrior; whilst a faithful Highland sergeant—by name James McDougal, like a loyal Scot—is

stated to have attended Wolfe dying." Each of the above may have had a share in the coveted privilege; let us consult a standard authority on Canadian history on this disputed point.

Few writers in America or elsewhere, have devoted to the study of our annals a whole life-time; few have had access to such masses of documents, siege narratives, etc., as Francis Parkman — the conscientious and brilliant historiographer of MONTCALM and WOLFE. Not confining himself to books, Mr. Parkman made special visits to Quebec, to study every inch of the battlefield of 1759, and of the sites adjoining. I am in a position to testify to the fact, by personal experience, having among other occasions a recollection of a prolonged and minute survey he and I made in 1878, at his request, of the historic *locale*, at Wolfe's cove where the English troops disembarked at early dawn on the 13th September, 1759, in furtherance of his great work, "MONTCALM—WOLFE," which he was then preparing, and which appeared in 1884. Parkman's description of the death scene is as follows: "Wolfe himself led the charge at the head of the Louisbourg grenadiers. A shot shattered his wrist. He wrapped his handkerchief about it and kept on. Another shot struck him and he still advanced, when a third lodged in his breast. He staggered and sat on the ground. Lieutenant Brown of the grenadiers, one Henderson, a volunteer in the same company, and a private soldier, aided by an officer of artillery, who ran to join them, carried him in their arms to the rear. He begged them to lay him down. They did so, and asked if he would have a surgeon. 'There's no need,' he answered; 'it's all over with me.' A moment one of them cried out: 'They run; see how they run.' 'Who run?' Wolfe demanded like a man roused from sleep. 'The enemy, sir Egad they give way everywhere!' 'Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton,' returned the dying man; 'tell him to march Webb's regiment down to Charles River to cut off their retreat from

the bridge.' Then, turning on his side, he murmured, 'Now, God be praised, I will die in peace!' and in a few moments his gallant soul had fled."

It will be noticed that Parkman associates four of Wolfe's comrades at arms to the honor claimed by Lieut. Brown, of attending the dying hero in his supreme hour.

This reminds one of another debated point of Canadian history; the name of the man who fired the shot, which, at Près-de-Ville, on that fatidical Sabbath—the 31st December, 1775—laid low Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, the brave but luckless leader of the invading host from New England.

Sanguinet's Journal mentions two distinguished officers in the French militia, Chabot and Picard. One English account gives the credit to Barnsfare of Whitby, the captain of a transport, wintering that season at Quebec, whilst another siege narrative selects as the hero of the day, Sergeant Hugh McQuarters, R.A.—who expired in Champlain street, Quebec, in 1812.

On examining the testimony set forth, the whole matter, in my opinion, might be summed up thus:

Lieuts. Chabot and Picard were undoubtedly on duty at the Près-de-Ville post, on the morning in question; Captain Barnsfare pointed the fatal cannon, and Sergeant Hugh McQuarters applied the match.

Another inference may be drawn from Parkman's account of the death of Wolfe; it will be noticed that no mention occurs of the part supposed to have been played in the tragedy by the English deserter, whose story appears in Hone's "Table Book." Parkman spent years searching through the archives of Canada, France and England, and acquired the most complete and reliable *data* possible, on even the minutest incidents of the great siege of 1759. It has been my privilege, on innumerable occasions, during his annual visits to Quebec, to discuss with him the particulars of the death of both heroes of the battle of the Plains

of Abraham, and never was the mode suggested by the *Table Book* mooted. I was well aware, and so was the learned historian, of an analagous anecdote contained in a foot note, to be found in Chevalier Johnstone's DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD, concerning the death of Montcalm, and as the incident may be new to several, I herewith subjoin the passage and foot note as related by an eye witness, Levi's aide-de-camp, the Jacobite Johnstone, serving under Montcalm at the battle of the Plains: "The Marquis of Montcalm, says Chevalier Johnstone, endeavouring to rally the troops in their disorderly flight, was wounded in the lower part of the belly.* He was conveyed immediately to Quebec, and lodged in the house of M. Arnaux, the King's surgeon, who was absent with M. de Bourlamarque; his brother, the younger Arnaux, having viewed the wound, declared it mortal. . . . He begged of Arnaux to be so kind and outspoken as to tell him how many hours he thought he might yet live? Arnaux answered him that he might hold out until three in the morning." I may hereafter refer again to the spot where the great Marquis expired—another disputed point in Canadian history.

As to the Windsor painting by West, of the death of Wolfe, I have about as much faith in it as Sir Robert Walpole is said to have had in history.

That big Indian, depicted by the artist, sitting down on the Plains of Abraham and watching disconsolately, the dying General, is quite enough to stamp the whole scene as unreal—a *mise en scène*, invented for effect by the genius of the great English painters. *Wolfe had no Indian in his ranks*—history mentions none at least.

If there were any red skins in the neighborhood, it must have been some of the Lorette Hurons amongst Montcalm's fugitives; and the only interest they would have borne

* "It was reported in Canada that the ball which killed that great, good and honest man, was not fired by an English musket. But I never credited this." (Foot note to Chevalier Johnstone's Dialogues.)

towards the English chieftain, would have been a longing for his red haired scalp, to add to their trophies.

In a very old engraving of the death of the hero, in my possession and for which I am indebted to the sporting antiquarian George M. Fairchild, jr., of New York, Wolfe is represented lying on his side on the ground, apparently in great pain, supported and surrounded by six persons in uniform, one of whom bears the regimental colours.

West's big Indian is dropped out. Under the plate appears the inscription,

General Wolfe expiring on the Heights of Canada.

Quebec, December, 1889.

Society for Historical Studies, Montreal.

During the past winter this Society has met fortnightly with the Society of Canadian Literature, in the building of the Natural History Society. The papers were contributed alternately and were distinctively Canadian. Unfortunately the joint meetings, while they have increased the attendance, have not resulted in a corresponding increase of interest in the historical work of the Society. At a special meeting it was decided that next season the joint meetings would not be resumed, and the secretary was instructed at the same time to convey to the Society of Canadian Literature an expression of appreciation for their cordial co-operation.

It was decided to study the period from 1760 to 1837, and a programme will be at once prepared, covering this period. It is expected that the first paper will be a general review of the period, and that subsequent papers will deal with the various phases of it in detail.

The Amalgamation of Societies.

The suggestion made some time ago by Mr. W. D. Lighthall, that all the Literary, Scientific and Artistic Societies

and Associations in Montreal should be amalgamated, has been revived by Sir Wm. Dawson, in the interest of the Natural History Society of this city, which is proposed as the nucleus or central society about which the others are to cluster.

There are in Montreal not a few groups working in the directions indicated, but when the commercial progress and importance of the city, and the high reputation it enjoys for physical culture, are considered, it is discouraging to contemplate the lack of intellectual culture which is exhibited, if this may be judged by any external manifestations. The attendance at lectures or the more serious class of entertainments, which in other cities attract crowds of interested listeners, is so meagre as to imply apathy, if not ignorance. If the membership rolls of the various societies be carefully examined, the same names will be found in several and the total extremely small. Under these circumstances it is evident that if some scheme could be devised by which the scattered groups could be brought into harmonious and concentrated action, much good would result.

There is at present not a little rivalry, almost amounting to jealousy, and nothing could be done without mutual concessions. An entirely new society or association should be organised and all the old ones merged in it; one permanent and paid officer would be sufficient to collect all dues and issue all notices, and the absurd multiplication of offices which exists in some societies at present should be dispensed with—too often the office honours the man, not the man the office. Each section might have one officer, and these in turn would form a board of direction. At first rooms might be rented and plainly furnished, and if the association were a success it would grow in time. Until some such scheme could be elaborated and put in practice the various societies might experiment by having one paid official who would collect their dues and do the clerical work, such as addressing notices of meeting.

Could this be done it would at least be a step in the right direction. Perhaps the Natural History Society will call a meeting of the representative officers of the other societies and endeavour to make some such arrangement for next season.

Societies.

Canadian Indian Research and Aid Society.

The Rev. E. F. Wilson, secretary of this Society, has been in Montreal recently endeavoring to increase the interest in his work. The Society was organized in Ottawa on the 18th April, 1890, and is intended to be distinctly national and "to promote the welfare of the Indians: to guard there interests; to preserve their historical traditions and folk-lore, and to diffuse information with a view to creating a more general interest in both their temporal and spiritual progress." His Excellency the Governor General is the Patron and the following officers were elected:

President, Sir William Dawson: Vice-Presidents, The Bishop of Ontario, Hon. G. W. Allan, Rev. Dr. Bryce, Sir James Grant: Secretary, Rev. E. F. Wilson: Treasurer, W. L. Marler:

Members of Council, The Bishop of Algoma, Rev. Principal Grant, Dr. Dawson, Dr. Thorburn, Mr. H. B. Small, Rev. H. Pollard, The Bishop of Toronto, Rev. Dr. Sutherland, Rev. Dr. Sweeney, Chief Brant, The Bishop of Caledonia, Rev. J. McDougall (Alberta), Dr. Bernard Gilpin, G. F. Matthew, J. M. Lemoine, G. M. Sproate, David Boyle.

Publications Received.

Sketch of Father Louis André, S. J. An early Wisconsin Missionary. By Rev. A. E. Jones, S. J. The Rev. Father Jones, the Archivist of St. Mary's College in this city, has issued the above sketch in pamphlet form, it having appeared first in the Historical Magazine of New York. The careful examination of all the sources of information is evident from the numerous foot-note citations which greatly enhance the value of this monograph. The life of Father André extended from 1623 to 19th September, 1715, and was one of continued missionary work amongst the Indians until within a very few years of his death, when he was transferred to the teaching staff of Quebec College where he died. Father Jones' paper gives a rapid but comprehensive sketch of this remarkable career, and will be prized by students of this period.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

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*FATHER MARQUETTE.**

By Mr. John Talon-Lesperance, F.R.S.C.

The subject of this evening's paper has been chosen for two reasons—first, because it is connected with almost the last act of the administration of the great Intendant, Talon, who did more for the internal economy of the colony than any other single man that ever ruled in New France; and secondly, because it treats of the discovery of the great river and valley that divides the North American continent, on the western bank of which, in 1763, just one hundred years after Marquette and Joliet glided down in their canoes before its site, Pierre Laclede Liguert, almost the last of the famous trappers, and the friend of Pontiac, established an Indian trading out post on the flank of a limestone bluff, planted on the top the lily-white flag of France, and with solemn invocation, called it St. Louis, a name which the fifth city of the Union and the Queen of the Mississippi Valley is still proud to bear, and of which your humble servant is no less proud to be a native.

Overlooking a branch of the River Oise, and clinging, like

* This paper was read before the Society for Historical Studies, Montreal, on the 21st Nov. and 19th Dec., 1888, in two parts.

a bird's nest, to the mountain side, in the department of Aisne, is the small garrison of Laon, renowned in mediæval warfare, and the scene of one of Napoleon's tactical feats, against overwhelming odds, in the extraordinary campaign of 1814. The first family of Laon were the Marquettes, who distinguished themselves chiefly in arms, Jacques Marquette, namesake of the great explorer and missionary, having stood by the ill-starred John of France, in 1360, and three of the same name serving under Lafayette and Rochambeau during the revolutionary wars, as allies of the continental army.

The subject of our sketch was born at the family seat in 1637, and having been brought up in virtue and learning under the eye of his mother, who was a kinswoman of John Baptist de la Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers, he resolved to enter the Society of Loyola, in 1654, his 17th year. For the ensuing twelve years he devoted himself to teaching the higher branches of letters, being himself accomplished in all the science and literature of his time, but he felt a calling for a mission in foreign lands, and, in 1666, starting for Canada, landed at Quebec. He was assigned at once to Three Rivers, where he spent two years in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Algonquin. On the 21st April, 1668, he started with three companions for Montreal,where he joined a band of Split-Noses (Nez Percés) and Father Nicholas Louis, and the party went forward in canoes, along the old historic water-ways, used up to thirty years ago, by trapper and ranger, nun and missionary, up the Ottawa to French River, thence across Lake Huron to Sault St. Mary's, where there was a halt. At the Sault, Marquette was ordered to pitch his tent and open a mission for the Iroquois, at the foot of the rapid. He wrought there with fruit for about one year, when he was despatched to a station on the northern tongue of land in Lake Superior, still bearing the same name of Lapointe, and applied himself to the acquisition of the language of

the Illinois, to whom he had really been destined when he started on his journey, and of whom he subsequently became the apostle. From Lapointe he wrote a long and interesting letter to the Superior of the Missions at Quebec, describing the habits of his people, and not foreseeing that he would soon be obliged to follow a large portion of them to Mackinaw, where they were driven by the fate of a terrible Algonquin campaign. There he established the well-known Mission of St. Ignatius or Michilimackinac, building a log chapel, with roof of bark, that mirrored itself in the stormy lake. He remained at this point for two years, during which he expressed the wish to penetrate farther into the Illinois land, and, while evangelizing, explore the great river which the Indians told flowed into the great sea.

Finally, in 1672, news reached him from Quebec that his prayer was to be heard, and that on the recommendation of M. Talon, the commission of the Count de Frontenac he was to visit the tribes of the Mississippi River, near which dwell the Illinois (I am quoting his own words), along with a trapper named Joliet. Having spent the winter in drawing up maps, taking notes from the Indians, and preparing his itinerary with Joliet, who passed three months in his mission, they started in two canoes on the 17th May, 1673, and paddled from Mackinaw to Green Bay (Baie des Puans), whence they went up the Fox River, and by Portage, launched into the Wisconsin, down which they glided into the Mississippi. (Here a whole paper would be wanted to reproduce the eloquent, though simple, descriptions and reflections of Marquette in his Relation). Joliette called the great river the Buade, in honour of Frontenac, and Marquette christened it Conception, after the Virgin, and thus it stands on his map and in his Relation.

They continued their way, past the Illinois River, the Missouri, and the Ohio, as far as the mouth of the

Arkansas. Having satisfied themselves of the navigability of the great stream to the sea, and the missionary having noted the habits of the people, the flora, fauna and geographical aspects of the country, they turned their faces northward, on the 17th July, and going up the Illinois River, passed along the point of Chicagon, into Lake Michigan, and shortly after, in September, Father Marquette was at his mission at Machilimackinaw again. I may mention incidentally that Longfellow has taken the inspiration of two numbers of his Hiawatha, from Marquette's Relation—that of the Pictured Rocks, on the Mississippi, and that of the joyous meeting with the Illinois, begining "Beautiful is the sun, O Strayers," and the welcome to the Black Robe. Joliet wintered with Marquette, and they drew up their reports. Joliet on his return, in the spring, was upset in the rapids above Montreal, losing all his papers; and although he gave Frontenac a summary of them from memory, which the latter sent to France, Frontenac had to fall back on the map and Relation of Father Marquette.

In October of 1674, Marquette opened and established the mission of the Illinois at Kaskaskia, a name which is still found in the maps. His health had been failing meantime and he had to be transported from Kaskaskia to Mackinaw, where he was anxious to lay down his burden, and rest on the borders of Lake Michigan. But he utterly broke down on the voyage. It was not to be. Death came on apace, and seeing the mouth of a river which bears his name, he pointed to a little hill as the place where they should bury him. There the faithful Indians raised a hut of birch bark and stretched the dying father beneath it. He made his own preparations for the end. Amid communings of spirit, the Latin prayers of the Church murmured aloud, words of exhortation to his companions, the good man passed to his reward, on Saturday, 18th May, 1675, at the early age of 38 years. Like Francis

Xavier, in the East Indies, China and Japan, he had spent nine years in the missionary work, and rendered his own name illustrious by a great discovery. He was buried on the rising ground near the little river, and a cross was raised above his grave. Later the Indians came to know it, and two years after his death, a number of them, returning from the hunt, took up the bones, put them in a bark box, and their canoes bore him over the lake to Mackinaw, the father thus accomplishing in death what he had been unable to compass before the end had come. As the funeral procession—reminding one of a similar pathetic scene described by Cooper and Schoolcraft—approached Mackinaw, other canoes came out to meet it, with two missionaries, and over the tranquil waters the *De Profundis* echoed for the repose of the departed soul. And then, as Dr. John Gilmary Shea puts it in eloquent speech, "The body was then borne to the church with cross, and prayer, and tapers burning like his zeal; and amid incense rising like his aspirations to heaven: in the church a pall had been arranged in the usual form for a coffin, and beneath it was placed the little box of bark, which was next, after a very solemn service, deposited in a little vault in the middle of the church where," says the chronicler, "he reposes as the Guardian Angel of our Ottawa Missions."

In 1877, excavations were made by responsible parties of the neighbourhood at the place where tradition had located the burial ground of Marquette—the mouth of the River of the Black Gown, as the Indians invariably call it to this day. There is a very long account of this given by Shea and others, which leads to the conclusion that some of the bones of the apostle of the Illinois were found in their covers of birch bark, and they were, in consequence, collected and laid in a holy place as relics.

II.

Thevenot's book annotated by Marcin. Rich's copy laid on the table.

III.

In his third volume of the Hist. U. S., Bancroft foretold long ago that the people of the West would raise a monument to Marquette. And this the State of Wisconsin is about to do in the former Hall of the House of Representatives, at Washington, where each State of the Union has the right of setting up two statues. Our Society must have the full proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, which our secretary keeps for us. Transactions for 1885.

IV.

Original narrative in his own handwriting, with his map also autographical, belonging to the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Signature on back the same as that of registers at Boucherville. *Fac simile* presented to the Society by the President.

PART II.

In the first part of my paper I treated of the main events of Marquette's life—his early days; his call to New France; his missions among the Sioux and the Illinois of the Upper Lakes; his return to his flock; his illness and untimely death; the discovery of his remains, and the question of his statue, in the Capital at Washington, as the discoverer of Wisconsin.

This evening I will close the account with a summary of his own narrative, describing his descent of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas. Already in the "Relation of 1670" Marquette relates what his Illinois had told him of the great stream. He was then stationed full in the Illinois country, now the State of that name, near the actual site of the beautiful city of Peoria, and thus on a direct confluent of the Mississippi. He was also stationed at St. Esprit, on Lake Superior, which the Sioux sud-

denly destroyed, driving his Hurons to the Point St. Ignatius, the modern Mackilimackinack, or Mackinaw. It was there that the missionary spent the winter of 1672-3, and there, on the 8th December, the feast of the Virgin Immaculate, Louis Joliet entered his cabin with the welcome information that the father and himself were sent forward by Intendant Talon, under instructions received from France through the Count of Frontenac, to explore the great river that flowed into the Sea of Virginia, the Gulf of Mexico, or perhaps the Vermillion Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Marquette did not fail to notice the date of Joliet's arrival, and hence the name of Conception which he gave his discovery. During the remainder of the winter the two explorers gathered all the points they could obtain from the Indians, and made a map of the new land, with the rivers that flowed through it, the tribes and villages they would meet and see on their way, and the course of the great waterway itself.

When the snow and ice melted, and the tributary streams made navigable with the spring freshets, everything was ready for the voyage, the length of which, as the *Chronicle* tells us, neither of the travellers could foresee. The outfit was the traditional one still employed in our day of two birch-bark canoes, a supply of Indian corn or maize and dried meat. Five men were further engaged, and, after putting the expedition under the blessing of Heaven, the voyagers set out on the 17th May, 1673, "firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise."

Their way is easily followed. They first skirted the shores of Lake Michigan and Green Bay, they went into Fox River, and followed it up to the water-shed dividing the lakes from the Mississippi. Crossing the water-shed they floated their canoes on the Wisconsin River, and sped down its swift waters for two hundred and ten miles—"seventy leagues"—until, on the 17th of June—one month from the day of departure—they shot into the channel of the Mississippi.

After a few sober reflections on this event, Marquette from this point sets down all that he saw and heard in concise speech, such as displays the trained writer. The aspects of the land on both banks, and the different animals that came upon their sight, are carefully noted. Two things chiefly struck him by their novelty—the great size of the fish and the great herds of buffalo. The observation is remarkable that, in our day, there are no fish to speak of in the Mississippi, and not in the last quarter of a century has a bison's foot bounded on its banks. For eight long days the travellers were plunged in solitude, wrapped in admiration of the wild beauties of nature, till, on the 25th June, they descried on the western bank the print of human feet, and a beaten trail which led into a beautiful prairie. Here the missionary ordered a halt in the hope that he was in sight of a pathway to an Indian dwelling, and the party landed. After walking six miles they came upon three villages, which, to Marquette's abounding joy, were found to be occupied by his beloved Illinois, whose country it had long been his aim to visit. Whether these Indians had heard of him from their brothers on the eastern side of the river does not appear, but they received him and his party with true hospitality. A banquet of no less than four courses was made ready, and the white men were fed on them as so many children. Then came the dance of universal tradition, kept to our own time, in which the calumet was waved on high, then smoked, after which it was given them as a talisman, for with it, as the Father writes, "you can march fearlessly among enemies who, even in the heat of battle, lay down their arms when it is shown."

Returning to their canoes, they coasted along a range of bluffs which Marquette calls Piaac, doubtless after the Indian name. They are well known to-day as the "Pictured Rocks," and have been the subject of much research on the part of Schoolcraft and other Indian specialists. The two

largest monsters were frightful to see and huge as calves, with horns on the head like deer, a fearful look, red eyes, bearded like a tiger, face somewhat like a man's, body covered with scales, and the tail so long that it goes around the body twice, going up over the head and down between the legs, and ending, at last, in a fish's tail. These figures are represented as very high, so that it must have been hard work to get up there to paint them, and yet we are told that "good painters in France would find it no easy thing to do as well." The colors employed were green, red and black, and the drawing was bold and not out of proportion. This curiosity, upon which the boldest Indian dare not gaze long, is accurately located by Marquette as a little above the mouth of the Missouri, seeing that he and his companions were still talking about the wonder, when they caught sight of the mighty river, which if, as it ought to be, it bore its name to the Gulf of Mexico, would make it longer than the present Missi ssippi, ahead of the Amazon, and thus the longest continuous river in the world.

From Marquette's Relation, it is evident that Marquette and Joliet passed the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers at the time of the spring floods, when the banks are overflowed and the waters rush onward like torrents.

The travellers must also have witnessed the spectacle of the hue of the water from the mouth of the Missouri to the mouth of the Arkansas—a phenomenon that lasts till this day, where the Missouri or western side is yellow with the clay of disintegrated shores, and the eastern or Mississippi is as clear as crystal. We have the same spectacle at St. Anne's, where the Ottawa flows into the St. Lawrence, but the difference is not so perceptible.

Having escaped from the freshets of the Missouri, Father Marquette held on his course, which he describes briefly and neatly. He reached the mouth of the Ohio, or Onaboukigon, on which, he says, the Shawnees dwelt in thirty-

eight villages. From the point of junction, now the city of Cairo, the heart of what is facetiously called "Egypt," in the west, he floated down slowly, under the hot July sun of that climate, and stung to the quick by the mosquito, who still retains his spur and his droning and reigns the terror of summer nights. On a sudden the canoes were descried by a band of savages on the east bank, which would be that of the State of Kentucky, who were armed with guns, wore raiment of cloth, had hoes, hatchets and beads, and other articles of civilization which they must have received from the white man. Marquette did not hesitate to stop, and on displaying his calumet, which was at once recognized, he was requested to land and to partake of a feast, consisting of wild beef, bears' oil and white plums. They set out again the next morning and, after lazily advancing for several days, they reached a village of the Mitchigamea, some twenty-five or thirty miles from the Arkansas River. Here another troop of Indians awaited them on the bank, from the looks of whom they feared a hostile reception. The war-cry was raised; the young braves went prancing forth in battle array, and one of them threw his war-club, which fortunately fell short of its aim. Just then a body of old men appeared on the scene, and, at sight of the pipe of peace which Marquette brandished on high, they checked the onslaught and brought on peace.

This was crowned by the usual feast of welcome, after the Frenchmen had been invited to land, and they spent the night nnder the wigwams, not, adds the Father, "without a little uneasiness." Proceeding onward the next morning, they attained the village of the Akamsea, or of the Arkansas, facing the mouth of the river of that name on the western side, in the present State of Arkansas, but situate on the east side, in what is the State of Mississippi. Here again they were well received from the first; were treated to a feast that lasted all day, and at night the chief danced the calumet as a mark of perfect

peace, and then, to make assurance doubly sure, he presented one of these pipes to Marquette.

Here the explorers halted. They were told that they were only ten days from the sea, but that the lower parts of the river swarmed with bloodthirsty tribes, armed with guns, and that there would be danger of death in venturing among them. The travellers held a consultation, and resolved on retracing their steps, having satisfied themselves that they had really discovered the great river crossing a mighty continent, and that emptied its waters into the Gulf of Mexico. If they came to grief by going further, they would lose the fruits of their labour, their country would be deprived of the glory of their discovery. Hence on the 17th July, two months from the date of their departure, they turned their prows northward. When they reachen the mouth of the Illinois, they determined to shorten their way, by ascending that, and indeed, without delay, they got to the Lake of the Illinois, now Lake Michigan. Coasting along the western shores, they attained the mission at the head of Green Bay, on the 30th September, after an immortal journey of over four months, and having trevelled over 2,500 miles.

Here Marquette stopped to rest and recruit, while Joliet started for Quebec, before the winter set in, to give his report to Talon. Both had written their accounts. Unfortunately, when near Montreal, Joliet's canoe capsized and he lost all his papers; and although he made a short report from memory, the Government had to fall back on the Relation of Father Marquette, which they obtained the following spring. This is the account which you have just had summarized. The invaluable manuscript in the handwriting of the great missionary and explorer is in this city of Montreal, perfectly authenticated, and containing an authentic autograph. Both of these are in the archives of St. Mary's College. The map, a copy of which I have the pleasure of presenting to the Society, is a precious relic, of

which Lucien Carr, a college mate of mine, in his recent History of our native State, Missouri, says that it gives a very favourable idea of the extent and character of the knowledge which even at that early day, the French had acquired of the geography of all this region.

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*ONLY A CATALOGUE.**

By Mr. Henry Mott.

As a lover of good things poring over a *menu* will derive enjoyment from it, partly the result of imagination, partly of memory, so to one fond of books, a mere catalogue may become the source of no inconsiderable delight. The word itself, is very suggestive, put into the plural—*catalogues*—with the letters transposed, they will give us an anagram, *got as a clue*. But of course there are catalogues and catalogues. An auctioneer's mere recital of lots, embracing such lines as,

> Rollin's History,
> Blair's Sermons,
> Culpeper's Herbal,
> Pamela and nine others,

is not particularly stimulating to the literary appetite. It is when we get among lists of the rare and the curious, when at every page we encounter some quaint tome, or fabulously costly tractate, and especially when appetizing hints and toothsome morsels are given by the vendor, that a catalogue becomes a real delight.

To this order belongs, in a great degree, the recent Hart Catalogue, of old-time aspect, and black-lettery flavour, which ever and anon reaches us from a perusal. To open it is to enter, in fancy, a library, and a veritable whiff of Russia leather may be caught from its pages. It is like a supplementary Lowndes, and alike instructive and amusing.

*Read at a meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

Let us see, for example, what a cursory glance through its pages will yield us.

Among the illustrious names we have, of course, remarkable copies of Milton, Shakespeare and Spenser, and the

Immaculate Horace, a very fine copy, in extra calf, by Riviere, printed by Robert Foulis, of Glasgow, in 1744, the sheets of which were hung up in the College of Glasgow, and a reward offered to any one who should discover an inaccuracy.

A fac-simile of William Caxton's first book, and a splendid copy of

The Destruction of Troy, printed on London Bridge in 1702, elegantly bound in green morocco, with tooled sides and gilt edges, by Zaehnsdorf.

Half a dozen dainty Elzevirs, and a royal folio copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493, in the original oak boards.

A copy of the rare Martin Luther's *Colloquia* of 1567.

A score of exquisite M.S.S. on vellum, especially the beautifully executed *Book of Hours* of Queen Marguerite de Navarre which brought $825.

And some magnificent specimens of the bookbinders' art, from various cities.

The rare and interesting Strawberry Hill press was represented in a pretty red morocco 4to, bound by Rivière, 1758, and a copy of *Gray's Odes*, original calf, gilt, 1757.

But my object is rather to direct attention to the richness of the collection of *Canadiana* and *Americana*, which renders this catalogue so especially noteworthy for us. Of the early navigators we have:

Cartier.

The three small 8 vos. published at Paris in 1863-65-67, also the

"*Voyages de Découverte*," published at Quebec in 1843.

Champlain.

The Paris edition of Louis Sevestre, of 1632, and

Two copies of Le Mur's edition of the same date.

The two volumes, Paris reprint of 1830, and the three volumes, Quebec edition of 1870, by Abbé Laverdière.

Lescarbot.

We had a good copy of the Paris edition of 1612, and

Two copies of the Tross reprint, Paris 1866.

Sagard.

We find the original of *Le Grand Voyage de Pays des Hurons*, Paris, 1632.

Histoire du Canada et Voyages, Paris, 1636. A perfect copy, with the three leaves of music, and the Tross reprints of both works.

A perfect copy of the *History of Canada*, by Creuxius, published in Paris in 1664 was there, with the maps and all the illustrations.

Of *Hennepin*, we find no fewer than six lots in the catalogue, covering the rarest editions of 1697 and 1698.

La Hontan we have, five times repeated, comprising the editions of 1703-1704 and 1741.

The superb edition of *Ramusio* in three folio volumes in vellum, published at Geneva 1563–73.

But I must avoid being tedious with lengthened notices, and must confine myself to a mere mention of names.

About the period of the war which ended with the cession of Canada, I note

Knox's Historical Journal, 2 vols., 1796.
Burgoyne's State of the Expedition from Canada, published in 1780,

whilst letters to Brigadier-Generals, etc., bristle almost on every page.

The war of 1812 too, was fully represented, having 22 entries, indeed it would be a shorter task to say what was wanting, than to record at any length that which was to be found in the catalogue. Subdivide the subject as you may, it is scarcely too much to say that every department was represented.

To come down nearer to our own time in history, and in materials for history, we have

Bibaud,
Bouchette,
Garneau and
Parkman and others.

In cities we have Montreal, Quebec and Toronto, with the earliest imprints.

In Education we have the first book printed in Montreal, and a host of early school books.

Early volumes of our newspapers were there, and many pamphlets which are scarce, or will most certainly become so.

Of Local Histories we have:

Hawkins' Picture of Quebec.
Hochelaga Depicta.
Toronto of Old.
Montreal Past and Present.
Quebec Past and Present.
The Eastern Townships, &c., &c.

The events of 1837 and 1838 were present in no less than 38 entries.

It would be difficult to give fully any list of the rare, scarce and curious books. I cannot do more than select a few at random:

The Case of Du Calvet, in French and English.
The Lower Canada Watchman.
Kalm's Travels, 3 vols.
Cartwright's Labrador.
Pichot's Cap Breton.
Cugnet's La Loi des Fiefs and Extraits des Registres.

Relating to Montreal we find:

The scarce first Directory of 1819.
Mesplet's earliest prints.

Motives for a subscription for the relief of the sufferers by the fire at Montreal, May 18, 1765, and
Hochelaga Depicta, the two editions.
Also, numerous early pamphlets.

Relating to Quebec:

Hawkins' Picture, three copies, and many other rare and otherwise desirable books and pamphlets.

The voluminous Baron Maseres, too, was there in six entries.

I must not omit a glance at the rich collection of maps, portraits and autographs, many of them excessively rare. I can but name a few of those which brought the highest prices.

Of Maps—

Map of Nouvelle France	$15.00
Quebec and Montreal	11.00
Columbus Map	17.00
New York	14.00

Of Autographs that of

Joseph Addison brought	$21.00
Benedict Arnold's Sister	45.25
Lord Bacon	26.00
Mrs. Browning, the poetess	17.00
Charles Dickens	15.00
King Edward VI	89.00
Queen Elizabeth	11.00
Frederick, the Elector of Saxony	23.50
Henry IV. of France	21.00
David Hume, the historian	20.00
Martin Luther	76.00
Cardinal Mazarin	16.00
Catherine de Medici	11.00
Lorenzo de Medici	10.00
Philip Melancthon	17.00
Lord Nelson	13.00
A Document signed by Champlain and his Wife	120.00

Lemoyne D'Iberville	27.00
Count de Frontenac	30.00
Sir Lewis Kirke	15.00
La Gallissonnière	5.50
Marquis de La Roche (2)	$57 and $11
Jean Baptiste Ramezay, son of Claude	17.00
Sieur de Maisonneuve	30.00
Roberval	55.00
Vaudreuil	11.50
Marquise de Pompadour	65.00
Cardinal Richelieu	15.00
Alfred Tennyson	15.00
Voltaire	18.00
George Washington	24.00
John Wesley	11.00

Of Portraits—

General Amherst	$6.00
General Monckton	5.00
General Wolfe (Mezzotint)	11.00
Capt. Hervey Smyth's views	16.25
View of Louisburg	11.00
The East view of Montreal, by Canot, 1760	13.00

It may be safely said that it was the most interesting sale of *Canadiana* which has occurred, and therefore worthy of record.

The early history of Canada is full of interest, and the more it is read and studied, the more captivating it becomes —moreover, it is well to encourage the study of our country's history, as it cannot fail to make us better members of the commonwealth, and above all it is desirable to gather together and treasure all scarce and out-of-the-way material for building up that history.

I call to mind some verses by Austin Dobson, in which, whilst giving due praise to the charming specimens of the art of the binder, he nevertheless finds a good word for the less showy volumes on his library shelves:

They dwell in the odour of camphor,
  They stand in a Sheraton shrine,
They are warranted "early editions,"
  These worshipful tomes of mine.

In their creamy "Oxford vellum,"
  In their redolent "crushed Levant,"
With their delicate watered linings,
  They are jewels of price, I grant.

Blind-tooled and morocco jointed,
  They have Zaehnsdorf's daintiest dress,
They are graceful, attenuate, polished,
  But they gather the dust, no less.

For the row that I prize is yonder,
  Away on the unglazed shelves,
The bulged and bruised octavos,
  The dear and dumpy twelves.

Montaigne with his sheepskin blistered,
  And Howell the worse for wear,
And the worm-drilled Jesuit's Horace,
  And the little old cropped Molière.

And the Burton I bought for a florin,
  And the Rabelais foxed and flea'd,
For the rest I never have opened,
  But those are the books I read.

Much has been written in praise of books, and I ask your attention to some verses on this theme by a Montreal poet, Mr. George Martin:—

In books I find companionship, they are
My household gods, and naught shall wholly bar
Their voices from me; from their precious pages
I quaff the immortality of ages.
They are the spirits of the dead, not dumb,
From ancient tombs and monuments they come
To hold communion with the living; they,
While nations perish and the world grows gray,

Their regal power and pristine beauty keep,
Despite the flames which they have travelled through,
Unscathed they hold their sceptres, meek they bear
These royal dignities ;—like light and air
They enter, silver-shod, the humblest door,
And breathe their benedictions on the poor.

Ye avatars, true saviours of the world,
Round whom the hopes of wisest souls are curled,
Be mine through life, in pain, or pleasure, mine!
If near me still your pleasant faces shine
The skies may lower—upon my thorny path
The heavens may pour their cataracts of wrath,
I need not falter, need not hold my breath,
Nor tremble at the menaces of Death."

As this is the last meeting of the Society before its adjournment for the season, permit me to put my thoughts into verse, and they would assume the following shape :—

Here, on this storied shore, within the sound
Of great St. Lawrence, waters, have we met
To spend a profitable hour, and muse
Upon the past—two centuries agone.
And while we contemplate the present scene,
We, too, may give to Fancy latitude,
In speculation on what here shall be,
When centuries again have lapsed away.

And it is well at times to turn from cares
That all engross us—mere dollars, din and dust,—
To nature's calm retreats, and let our souls
Be led by her sweet whisperings—the same
For evermore, as yesterday, to-day.

Communing with the spirit of the Past,
And conversant with annals of the Old,
We dwell upon Time's workings, and take note
That he, though ever restless, changeful, swift,
Is like a rapid, overflowing stream,
Bearing away our cherished fantasies,
Yet leaving on the shore for us to see,
The solid grains of fertilizing Truth.

Lo! this is consecrated ground we tread!
The soil, the rocks, the very air we breathe
Are full of memories of a vanished race,
Who here had being, and who cherished life
According to the light to them vouchsafed,—
Called "nature's darkness" by the sons of light.
Here Clio paused, and wrote a bloody page,
Whose color darkens and whose interest grows,
Dark'ning and deep'ning with the lapse of Time.

O Nature! let a son of thine bespeak
For thy poor children grace of charity!
Our eyes, to-day, feast on thy fairness,—see
Thy panorama, mountain, flood and field,
Spread out in beauty, with the noon of May
Renewing verdure to these fruitful fields;
While the broad bosom of our bounteous stream
Mirrors thy beauties sweetly as of yore.
Thy look impresses us; thy promptings say;
This is your country! love it! well ye may.

The scene has changed! Another form
Of eager, restless air, in place succeeds,
Lacking the sachem's pose of dignity,
It is his voice now speaks;—
Behold me, Enterprise! sprung from the Plough,
The axe, loom, anvil, and the Common School,
I claim high ancestry in all; but first
My filial pride acknowledges *the plough*.

I am the spirit that in early days
Did build your barges, and contrive the ways,
Obstructions conquering, that commerce might
The waters of your rivers utilize,
And bring the recompense that all derive
From well-timed industry. I, too, am he,
Who, tiring of the locomotion slow,
Laid down the iron rails these shores along,
Brought forth the iron horse and harnessed him,
To thunder through your valleys with his freights,
And wake the echoes with his rousing shrieks.

I, too, am he who laid this mighty work
At nature's own suggestion, and have turned
The tireless energies of the mad tide
To work for man and his aggrandizement.

Yonder you see beginnings; but the end
Is in the future far; when I who speak
And you who listen, long have passed away;—
Yea, when the children of your children's child,
As generations shall in turn succeed,
Shall hither gather to renew this day,—
Scarce this sweet spot shall find, this cool retreat,
These verdant pines, this grassy shade they'll see,
But blocks of brick and stone, and graded streets;—
Nature displaced by crowned and regnant art,
And Trade's confusion dinning in their ears.

Here, where the fisher stood and speared his prey,
Here, where the Indian happy in the wild,
Thanked the Great Spirit for this paradise,
Shall stretch the broad highways from shore to shore,
And din of traffic and its roar shall drown
The thunder of the falling flood below.

That vision vanisheth! What *do* I see?
Faces of friends, dear and familiar all,
Welcome, all welcome to this peaceful haunt,
To interchange those kind amenities
That lighten life's sad burden. and inspire
The soul to dwell on something else, beyond.

MONUMENT TO TECUMSEH.

By Mr. Douglas Brymner.

The name of this wise and faithful Indian chief is well known and the proofs of his fidelity to the British cause in Canada clearly established. His valuable services at the beginning of the war of 1812 were proved by his conduct at the River Canards, when, in consequence of the skilful disposal of his warriors, he caused the flight of the

American invaders without any serious resistance on their part, and a few days after defeated, near Brownstown, with 70 warriors, a detachment of 200 Americans under Major Vanhorne, chasing them for seven miles and taking possession of the mail which they were escorting.

At the inglorious battle on the Thames, at which Tecumseh met his death, he made the first attack on the United States troops, and had he been properly supported there is little doubt the result of that day's action would have been very different. The death of Tecumseh, whilst wounded yet still seeking the hottest of the fire, discouraged his Indian followers. Shot through the head as he was leading on his men, Tecumseh died at the age of 44. It is unnecessary to describe the brutal treatment to which the body of this wise, brave and faithful chief was subjected. It is scarcely credible were it not supported by the most absolute proof.

About 1841 it was proposed to erect a monument to the memory of Tecumseh, and in Montreal a committee was appointed, consisting of the Hon. Messrs. Moffatt and McGill and T. B. Anderson. Mr. James Holmes, who appears to have acted as treasurer, says, after giving these names: "It has been chiefly through my agency, however, that the money has been raised, and on mė, I am apprehensive, devolves all present and future exertion to effect the end in view." The letter, from which this is an extract, is dated 23rd March, 1848, and states that about seven years previously (1841) a sum of money had been raised and lodged in the Savings' Bank at interest, and at the date of the letter amounted to £200 (that is, $800). "If," says Mr. Holmes, "this sum can be increased a trifle more, an obelisk, some forty feet in height, similar to that which honours the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec, can be erected; and it is conceived such a memorial would do honour to the dead and to the Britons who erected it."

The site selected, and for which application was made,

was at the western or upper portion of the island of St. Helen's, a space of fifteen feet square being all that was wanted. Mr. Holmes further suggested to Major-General Gore, to whom the letter was addressed as commanding the Montreal district, that subscriptions might be obtained from the garrison, and, should the troops accede to this, that the inscription on the stone should be:

"Erected by the Citizens of Montreal and the Officers of H.M. 71st, 77th, and 23rd Regiments of Foot and Royal Artillery." Lieut.-Colonel Denny, of the 71st regiment, warmly supported the proposal, and the Colonel (Holloway) commanding the Royal Engineers reported that whilst the site was precisely that which had been selected for defensive works, for which the island was expressly purchased, a space of only fifteen feet square being wanted, such an area might be appropriated without detriment to the works.

In April the question was submitted to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, and on the 12th May official sanction was given by the Board of Ordnance, the secretary having written to the Inspector-General of Fortifications (Sir John Burgoyne), who had referred the question to the Board "that the Master-General and Board of Ordnance are pleased to concur in granting the space of ground required."

There, so far as I have yet discovered, the correspondence ceased. But it would be interesting to know what became of the money—whether it was otherwise disposed of, or if it still remains on deposit in the Savings' Bank. The names of the committee afford a sufficient guarantee that whatever use, if any was made of the money, nothing was done with it inconsistent with the strictest probity. It is, at least, certain that no monument was erected, and the question arises: "If not, why not?" Mr. Holmes was very determined that the work should be accomplished, for he closes his letter of 23rd March, 1848, to General Gore in these words:

"That the monument will be erected there can be no question. Even if I do not obtain another subscription it shall be put up; but if the means at command be larger, the monument will be more sightly and commanding."

"*LE CHIEN D'OR.*"

By Mabel.

This brilliant historical romance of Canadian life at the close of the French *régime*, by Kirby (Niagara), as well as that of "Les Bastonnais," by Lespérance (Montreal), of the attack on Quebec by the army of the U. S. Congress, 1775, both written in English, are not surpassed by the *littérateurs* of any other country or language. It will be noticed by those persons familiar with our history, that in these works it is puzzling to detect where fact ends and fiction begins. To such examples of literary art a Canadian may point with pride as evidence of the high rank of English Canadian literature when that of the French Canadian holds also so high a place.

The "Chien d'Or," as everyone knows who has been in Quebec, is a stone tablet now over the Post Office door at the top of Mountain Hill (the site of the Bourgeois Philibert's residence and warehouse), and represents a dog *couchant* gnawing a human thigh bone.

The inscription, roughly carved in old French letters and phraseology, is:

"Je svis vn chien qui ronge lo,
En le rongeant je prend mon repos,
Vn temps viendra qui nest pas venv,
Que je morderay qui mavra mordv."

Or literally translated into English thus:

"I am a dog gnawing a bone;
Gnawing, I rest quietly
A time will come, but not yet come,
When I shall bite him who would have bitten me."

That this tablet was originally gilt (as now) is probable, as it has always been known in Quebec as the "Golden dog." This rendering has been adopted by Kirby.

The question is, did Philibert mean this effigy to represent—

"Le chien d'or," "Golden dog,"

or

"Le chien dort," "Sleeping dog"?

Probably both—the one the outward sign, the other the inward significance. The former for the public gaze, the other for the eye of his powerful and hereditary enemy, the Intendant Bigot.

What thus appeared as the "Golden dog" to the public had the significance to the Intendant of the "sleeping dog" as expressed in the Scotch proverb of "Let sleeping dogs lie," but with full force in the motto of the Bruce, "I bide my time."

The words "Je prend mon repos" favor this latter reading, and so Bigot evidently understood it and anticipated the awaking by the murder of Philibert.

In looking over the register of *Foi et Hommage* of Canada (see archives of Canada, 1884), it will be seen that in 1766, Péan (then a prisoner in the Bastile) and the celebrated Angélique, his wife, also in France at the time, sold four seigniories in the neighborhood of Quebec to Descheneaux, who prudently preferred the air of Canada to that of his native land, and had enough money saved of his ill-gotten gains to establish himself as a grand seigneur on the shores of the St. Lawrence. What became of Bigot after his imprisonment in the Bastile or whether he died there is uncertain. One story is that he was killed in the streets of Pondicherry by the son of Philibert. This much is certain, that he still lives in history as the pimp of Pompadour, the betrayer of French interests at Louisbourg, and the unrepentant sinner at Quebec.

The iron cage in which "La Corriveau" was exhibited at Cape Diamond, prior to her execution, was purchased, as is stated, by Barnum for the "circus" of the present day.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MARQUIS DE LEVIS.

The Government of the Province of Quebec recently issued the two first volumes of the collection of manuscripts of the Marquis de Lévis, comprising the journal of his campaigns in Canada from 1756 to 1760, and the first volume of the Letters.

It is not a little curious that these papers, of which there are eleven volumes in the collection, should have so long remained hidden and unknown, not only in view of the important bearing they must have upon the correctness of the history of the period they cover, but also because of the strong light they will cast upon the more private life of their distinguished author.

It is, however, not surprising that their discovery was due to Abbé H. R. Casgrain, one of the most diligent and painstaking investigators of every detail in the early history of this country. In 1888, Abbé Casgrain made the acquaintance of the Count Raimond de Nicolay—the introduction being due to the present Marquis de Montcalm and M. X. Marmier, of the French Academy—and, after some correspondence, the Count offered to have a carefully compared copy made of the documents in his possession, upon the express condition that they should be printed in their integrity, and be prefaced by a notice of the de Lévis family.

This little bit of biography is by no means the least interesting part of the work, for it leads us back to the days of the third Crusade, when in May, 1200, Philippe de Lévis accompanied Philippe-Augustus to the Holy Land, and while there, is mentioned as one of the sureties in the Treaty of Goulet. Then came the first Gui de Lévis, who founded an abbey and built a chapel, and after whom came a long and glorious line of soldiers, prelates and statesmen. Their connection with America dates back to 1655, when François-Christophe de Lévis was created Viceroy of that continent.

The companion of Montcalm was a descendant of the Lévis-Léran branch of the family, from which that of Ajac, to which he immediately belonged, was sprung. His father, Jean-Gaston, Baron d'Ajac, had two sons, of whom the eldest, Pierre, left only one daughter, who married the son of the Marquis of Montcalm. The second son, François, then called the Chevalier de Lévis, was born on the 23rd August, 1720. From 1735, he was named lieutenant in the regiment of the marine, he took part in the campaigns of the Rhine, and obtained the grade of captain on the 1st June, 1737. In 1741 and the following years, he made the campaigns of Austria, Bohemia and Germany. In 1747, he was made a staff officer of the army in Italy, colonel, and knight of St. Louis in 1748. He 1756, he was chosen by the Count d'Argenson to accompany the Marquis de Montcalm to Canada, with the rank of brigadier. Two years later he was appointed Brigadier-General

The story of his sojourn in Canada is told in the manuscripts which are now in the course of publication, and it is understood that these include a vast amount of hitherto unpublished correspondence of Lévis, Montcalm, and the other French commanders, which will not be lacking in interest.

The Chevalier de Lévis returned to France in 1761, when he received the rank of lieutenant-general, and in 1762 he was in Germany with the Prince of Condé. When peace was declared, he became governor of the Province of Artois, and in 1771 he received the appointment of captain of the guards of the Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII. In 1776, he was invested with the orders of the King; became a marshal of France in 1783; an hereditary duke in 1784. Three years later, he died at Arras, on the 26th November, 1787, aged 67. He married, on the 28th February, 1762, Gabrielle-Augustine-Michel de Pharon, who perished on the scaffold of the revolution, on the 10th July, 1794.

The journal is evidently intended to cover the operations in America, as the Chevalier begins with a brief introductory passage upon the causes of the war, in which he lays the blame upon the missionaries, whom he charges with using the dispute about boundaries to disturb the harmony which existed on this continrnt. These missionaries had, he says, much greater importance in time of war than in peace, due to the iufluence they exercised over the savages, and it was not in their interest to play the part of peace-makers.

The volumes which are to follow will be awaited with interest. The volumes are similar in form to the series of manuscripts published a few years ago by the same Government.

FOR GOD AND FATHERLAND.

The following spirited and patriotic lines were first published in the "Monthly Review," a magazine edited by John Waudby, Esq., late editor of the Upper Canada Herald, and "devoted to the Civil Government of Canada." They appeared in the first number of this publication which was issued in Toronto, and are anonymous. Perhaps some of our readers may recollect the author's name?

THE UNITED PROVINCES.

"Westward the tide of empire rolls its way."
[BERKELEY.]

Blue skies and glorious forests! Life and light—
The downward rushing of a thousand floods,
The far-heard thunder of the torrent's might;
The free winds wrestling with the giant woods:
The fresh wild splendour of the spring-tide morn,
Sunshine and youth their golden treasures flinging—
The careless gladness of a heart unworn,
And hope's clear voice to chainless freedom singing,—
"From thy short annals dash one stormy page;
Toward the veil'd future gaze,—there lies thy heritage!"

The West! the West!—high theme for minstrel's lyre,
Whose heart is fresh—whose glance is ONWARD cast,
Whom hope hath touch'd with her prophetic fire,
Who leaves to colder harps to sing the past.
The West! the West! where Empire's course is speeding
To found broad realms—to rear her mightiest throne,
Where worth and strength to earthly fame are leading,
Where victory shall sound her boldest tone,
Where unborn glories, with triumphant blaze,
Shall dim the past's proud deeds, shall pale its flaunting rays.

Roll soft, blue waters of the "Thousand Isles"!
Superior! calm thy ocean-giant's sweep!
Flash up, fair Erie, in the warm sun's smiles:
Gray Huron, wake thee from thy troubled sleep.
Hark! from the green old woods hoarse voices come,
The spirits of the solitudes are out:
Up waves and winds! blue rush and sparkling foam,
Ring thro' the startled West the mingled shout
Of strength and gladness, the wild jubilee,
In which ye speak your might, the anthem of the free!

Roll on, bright waves, along your swelling tide
No ruined fane, no dark dismantled towers
Gaze on your depths in melancholy pride,
To mar the freshness of your forest bowers.
Not yours the time-worn arch—the shattered dome,
The mournful loveliness of slow decay:
The splendour of the morning lights your home,
The fresh magnificence of opening day:—
Time o'er your land with baffled might has flown,
No works of man to fall—fair nature bow'd alone.

Hark! from yon giant mount a war drum beats,
A trumpet rings upon the morning air;
A glorious flag the quivering sunlight greets,
With blood-red cross and snow-white volumes fair:
'Tis thine, ST. GEORGE! that war-worn banner's fold,
The victor o'er those lordly waves streams forth;
Thine the bold notes—thine Island warriors hold
The grave of Wolfe—the fortress of the north!
And proud defiance from its crest is hurl'd,
Where Britain's genius sits,—throned o'er the western world.

On speed the martial sounds, o'er wood and lake,
From fortress rocks and garrison'd defiles;
St. Helen's bids her sleeping echoes wake,
Fort Henry wafts them through Ontario's isles;
And banners flash and English music springs
From camp and fort along that fatal wave,
Where dread Niag'ra's giant thunder sings
His everlasting requiem for the brave—
And on, o'er Erie's sands, o'er soft St. Clair,
The same free trumpet rings, the red cross flutters there!

Aye, 'tis a fair, a lordly heritage,
For British heirs, by British valour won.
A youth predestin'd for a glorious age,
A spot for freedom's ark to rest upon.
And there bright memories come floating down,
Borne from the past on fame's least earthly chords.
Warming the children with the sire's renown,
Singing of crimson fields, of conquering swords,
Trafalgar's wave—old Runnimede's fair sod,
How patriots bled for home—how martyrs died for God.

Where lurks the parricide, whose impious hand
Britania's standard from its height would tear,
And false to faith, truth, HEAVEN, AND FATHERLAND,
Bow to some specious rag usurping there?
Woe to the craven statesman's plotting brain;
Shame on the perjured soldier's dastard crest,
Who rends the "Ocean Empire's" proud domain,
Who drives the lion from the glorious west,
And leaves the children of the isles a prey
To dark and hopeless strife, or worse than Vandal sway.

Land of the West! Before the minstrel's glance
Bright visions float magnificent and free:
Fair glories light the future's broad expanse,
And hope, wild prophet, sings—they gleam for thee.
Rise, eagle-winged and lion-hearted, rise,
Youth, strength, and freedom, nerve your upward flight;
Fix on the morning sun your quenchless eyes:
Trust to your stainless name, your children's might:
Thine be worth, genius, victory, splendour, praise,
Meet for a clime like thine, where flag, like England's sways.

Onward, fair clime! The holy arch of peace
Spans in its light thy green and smiling shore,
And golden plenty sheds her rich increase,
And hope and health their priceless treasures pour.
Rest, calm and true: should darker days be known,
Should foemen taint the freshness of thy sod,
Thine is the rampart of earth's mightiest throne,—
Thine the sure aid of freedom's watchful God.
Speed on! No mortal gives this high command,—
Stand by the patriot's creed,—"FOR GOD AND FATHERLAND!"

TORONTO, December, 1840.

Notes.

OTTAWA.

Being under the impression that I had met with the name "Ottawa" as belonging to a town in the United States, I made some enquiry about it, and to my astonishment I found no less than ten, located as under:—

	County.	*State.*
Ottawa	La Salle	Illinois
Ottawa	Clarke	Iowa
Ottawa City	Poweshiek	Iowa
Ottawa	Franklin	Kansas
Ottawa Centre	Ottawa	Michigan
Ottawa Lake	Monroe	Michigan
Ottawa	La Sueur	Minnesota
Ottawa City	Ottawa	Ohio
Ottawa	Putnam	Ohio
Ottawa	Waukesha	Wisconsin

H. M.

Publications Received.

HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF MANITOBA. We acknowledge, with thanks, the following *Transactions*:—"Continuation of Henry's Journal covering adventures and experiences in the fur trade of the Red River, 1799-1801," by Chas. N. Bell, F.R.G.S.—"Lord Selkirk's Deed from the Hudson's Bay Company," by Jas. Taylor, Esq., Rec.-Secy.—"Land and Sea Birds nesting within the

Arctic circle in the Lower Mackenzie River District," by R. R. Macfarlane, Esq.—"Two Provisional Governments in Manitoba," by Rev. Professor Bryce, LL.D. The above comprise the papers read before the Society during the session of 1889, and are all full of interest. Henry's Journal is an exceptionally valuable manuscript in the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa, and probably forms the only known source of information for the history of the Red River country for the period from 1799 to 1809; and Mr. Bell deserves thanks from all students of Canadian History for its publication. Many interesting details are narrated especially in regard to the habits of the Indians of that district. Dr. Bryce's paper is an important addition to the literature of the Riel rebellion of 1869-70. We have also been favored with the Report of this Society for 1889, and must congratulate its members on the substantial progress therein shown. Manitoba can well be proud of her Historical Society—one of the three in Canada who have the enterprise to regularly publish their Transactions. Every branch of its work shows vigour. The erection of a monument on the battlefield of Seven Oaks—the preservation of the remains of the historic gateway of old Fort Garry—the maintenance of a Natural History museum and a reference library (to say nothing of the free public library managed by the Society—all indicate the steady growth and usefulness of the institution. The financial statement is an unusually cheering one, the Historical branch alone showing an income of $606 for 1889, and having $373 in hand with which to commence the session of 1890.

The Canadian Club of Harvard University. We are in receipt of a copy of the prospectus of this organization, and are glad to learn of the formation of a club with such an excellent object. Its existence should have the effect of ably maintaining the distinctive nationality of Canadian students at Harvard, and we hope that it will be successful in every way. But notwithstanding the many literary and academical attractions which Harvard offers, and which are so fully stated in the pamphlet, it is to be hoped that the substantial advances made by McGill within the past year or two will have the effect of drawing to it a great number of students from the Maritime Provinces which have in past years furnished so many undergraduates to Harvard and other American colleges.

CANADIANA.

A COLLECTION OF CANADIAN NOTES.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

VOL. II. AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER. Nos. 8 and 9.

REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUSE.

By MR. ERNEST CRUIKSHANKS.

V.

From Burlington Bay, the American fleet proceeded to York, then totally defenceless and occupied only by a few invalids from the regular regiments of De Rottenburg's army. A landing was accomplished there without resistance, the sick men were paroled, and for several days afterwards vessels continued to cruise along the Canadian coast, making descents wherever a cluster of buildings indicated the existence of a settlement. Columns of smoke rising from the burning houses which marked their progress, were observed all day long from the British lines drawn around Fort George on the 31st of July, and finally De Rottenburg gave orders for a general advance, probably in the hope of compelling his adversary to recall his fleet from its career of devastation. All the American pickets were easily driven in, the village of Niagara was occupied for several hours, and their position carefully reconnoitred from the steeple of the Presbyterian church, which overlooked every part of their works. The chief result of this prolonged reconnoissance was the discovery of a force

conjectured to exceed 3,000 effective men, too strongly entrenched to be attacked by the division under his command. That this was a very moderate estimate of the strength of Boyd's army is evident from an official return dated three days later, which states the total number of men under his command at 6,635, including, however, besides non-effectives, the detachment on shipboard and in garrison at Fort Niagara and Lewiston. The demonstration may have contributed to hasten the return of Chauncey's fleet, which again anchored in the mouth of the Niagara on the 3rd of August. The appearance of so many hostile vessels apparently enjoying undisputed possession of the lake, very naturally excited feelings of profound uneasiness and depression among the Indians, whose patience was even more sorely tried by the consequent delay in the distribution of their customary stock of supplies.

On the last day of July, Claus writes to Captain Fulton, aide-de-camp to Sir G. Prevost:—

"I have in some measure been able to keep the Indians together, but they are getting tired and impatient. They are dropping off, and in a few days, I fear, we shall not have many. Gen. De Rottenburg has directed me to purchase everything to be had within fifty miles, but that was not sufficient for fifty men. Tobacco in particular is an article we cannot get. An equipment for 500 men has been forwarded to Amherstburg. I urgently request that you will send on our supply of provisions."

About the same time the following General Order seems to have been published, confirming the decision of a board on Indian claims which had assembled at St. Davids on the 20th of July.

"With a view to soften and restrain the Indian warriors in their conduct towards such Americans as may be made by them prisoners of war, His Excellency is pleased to approve of the following:—

"For every prisoner brought in alive, $5 to be paid immediately by the commissary on the certificate of the General Officer commanding the division.

"To a chief for the loss of an eye or limb, or for a wound held equivalent to the loss of an eye or limb, $100 per annum, payable in money or goods.

"To a warrior for the loss of an eye or limb, or for a wound held equivalent to the loss of an eye or limb, $70 per annum payable in money or goods.

"To the widow of a chief, killed in action, a present of $200.

"To the widow of a warrior, killed in action, a present of $170."

As indications were not wanting that an attack upon his position was contemplated, De Rottenburg directed the preparation of a grand war-feast and spared no effort to keep the Indians still remaining with him, in good humor. On the 5th of August, his anxiety was much relieved by the arrival of a messenger (Mr. Hagerman), sent by Sir James Yeo, to announce that he had sailed from Kingston several days before, but was becalmed between York and the Bay of Quinte.

Next day, Claus again appeals upon the familiar subject of Indian supplies in these terms:

"Cross Roads, 6th August, 1813.

"I have waited in vain for the Indian presents which usually come in June. It is absolutely necessary to have the following:—1,200 yds. of cotton, 1,000 yds. linen, 800 yds. stronds, 200 yds. broadcloth, 1,000 yds. ratteen, 200 lbs. vermilion, 1,000 lbs. tobacco, 1,344 lbs. ball, 400 butcher knives, 400 case knives.

"A list of these articles was given to Major Fulton to complete 500 men, but I have not heard anything of it."

Another day elapsed and still nothing was seen of Yeo's squadron. On the 7th, De Rottenburg took advantage of

the pretext afforded him by the accidental death of an Indian warrior, to visit their camp and made a brief speech.

"Brothers!" he said, "I come among you to express my regret at the accident that happened to one of your people last night and to condole with you.

"I cannot pass unnoticed your patience. You have waited day after day in expectation of seeing our ships Nothing but want of wind now keeps them away."

The quarrel between Norton and Claus resulted in the publication of a District General Order, the same day from which it became evident that the Mohawk chief had succeeded in gaining the general's ear.

"Head Quarters, St. Davids,

"7th August, 1813.

"It being desirable that every possible means should be resorted to to uphold and maintain the power and influence of the principal leaders of the Indian warriors, His Excellency, the Major General commanding, directs that the officers of the Indian Department who do not accompany the warriors in the field, but whose duties have been confined to the care and distribution of presents, shall no longer exercise their discretion in allotting articles as presents, but be guided in their distribution by such tokens or certificates of fidelity or bravery as are produced by them from the officers in charge of them who witnessed their gallant conduct before the enemy."

TECUMSEH.

By MABEL.

The oratory of the North American Indian has been the frequent theme of writers of fiction, such as Cooper, Murray, Mair, and others, who have garlanded their speeches with

flowers of rhetoric, and have—as the Indian certainly does—borrowed poetic images from storm and sunshine, river and lake, forest and prairie, as naturally as does the child of the rising sun, be he the patriarch Job or the shepherd David. Mankind are of one family, and probably the tribes of the Western prairies of North America, as Sir William Dawson remarks in his "Bible Lands," lived and bore themselves much as the nomadic tribes of Arabia and Syria, who have had the titles of kings and peoples credited to them, but who were doubtless no more than congregations of families; descendants, adherents and adopted slaves, banded together under an independent chief, for mutual support and protection.

Our authentic records of Indian oratory are limited, but on referring to the journal of the late Colonel Mackay, when superintendent of Indian affairs in the western district of Canada (1815) and to the "Indian Treaties of Canada," (Morris 1886), I do not find much more than the statements of chiefs claiming the fulfilment of treaty rights or bargaining, with tact, for the surrender of their territorial claims, but not worthy to be compared with the Biblical or Homeric records of the orators of the east.

Having found in Major Richardson's "War of 1812" (a rare and interesting narrative) an authentic account of one of the great Tecumseh speeches (p. 119), and being able to supply from memory an account of another, recounted to me by the late Benjamin Holmes, I give the latter, as best I may, since as Richardson remarks (p. 132) a short speech made by this chief on the eve of the battle of Moravian town "does not appear to have been put on record."

The occasions on which these speeches were made, and the circumstances connected therewith, may be briefly stated by way of explanation and are culled from Richardson's narrative, in which they are given in a detailed and precise manner.

In the gallant defence of western Canada by the Canadian volunteers under Brock and their Indian allies led by Tecumseh, assisted by a handful of British regulars and marines, the war, at first a defensive one, was carried into the United States territory, and although the victories at "Detroit" and the capture of that fort, of Queenstown, the "Raisin" and "Miami," had been coupled with the overthrow of the two American armies under Generals Hull and Winchester, nevertheless the death of Brock at Queenstown, the destruction of the fleet on Lake Erie commanded by the brave Barclay in 1813, the command of the Canadian forces by the incompetent Proctor and the overwhelming forces of the Americans under Harrison, to which the whole western district was laid open, ensured defeat as under a conspiracy of fate.

Proctor, then at Amherstburg, assuming, as appeared probable, but was not then certainly known, that the Canadian fleet had been captured, prepared to retire on Niagara and submitted this suggestion to his officers and allies at a council of war. Tecumseh was opposed to this course and advised that the enemy be attacked on landing. His speech before the council is thus given by Richardson (p. 119.)

"Father, he thundered, listen to your children. You see them now all before you. The war before this, our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now all dead. In that war our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and our father took them by the hand without our knowledge, and we are afraid our father will do so at this time.

"Summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren and was ready to take up the hatchet in favour of our British father, we were told not to be in a a hurry—that he had not yet determined to fight the Americans.

"Listen. When war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk and told us he was now ready

to strike the Americans—that he wanted our assistance; and he would certainly get us our lands back which the Americans had taken from us.

"Listen. You told us at the same time to bring forward our families to this place. We did so, and you promised to take care of them, and that they should want for nothing, while the men would go to fight the enemy—that we need not trouble ourselves with the enemy's garrisons that we knew nothing about them, and that our father would attend to that part of the business. You also told your red children that you would take good care of your garrison here which made our hearts glad.

"Listen. When we last went to the Rapids, Queenstown, it is true we gave you little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like ground hogs.

"Father, listen. Our fleet has gone out; we know that they have fought; we have heard the great guns; but heard nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm.* Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up everything and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish.

"Our great father the king is the head, and you represent him. You always told us you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat animal that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted, drops it between its legs and runs off.

"Listen, father. The Americans have not yet defeated us by land, neither are we sure that they have done so by water; we therefore wish to remain here and fight our

* Barclay, in command of the fleet.

enemy, should they make their appearance. If they defeat us, we will then retreat with our father.

"At the battle of the Rapids last war, the Americans certainly defeated us, and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place the gates were shut against us. We were afraid that it would now be the case; but instead of that we now see the British father preparing to walk out of his garrison.

"Father, you have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children. If you have any idea of going away, give them to us and you may go in welcome, for as our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit, we are determined to defend our lands, and if it is His will, we wish to leave our bones upon them."

After the council, Proctor decided, as a compromise, to retire on Moravian town and there to make a stand. A hasty retreat followed, the river Thames was crossed, and Harrison with about 3,500 men was at hand. An attack was certain on the following morning, when a second council of war was summoned at which all the officers, as well as the Indian chiefs, were present.

Tecumseh had been seated with the other chiefs on the ground around the camp-fire. He had been apparently an indifferent attendant on the discussion, until the General requested him to state his views, when he rose, surveyed the assembled officers and chiefs, the light of the camp-fire casting a ruddy glow over his swarthy features, and glistening in his dark eyes. Then striding across the camp he stood face to face with Proctor and thus addressed him:—

"Brother, have you not run far enough yet? Do I see before me a chief of our great father on the other side of the waters?

"He is a great chief, and knows his children. When they do one great deed he gives them this (laying a hand on one of Proctor's brilliant epaulettes); when two

great deeds another (placing his other hand on the reverse epaulette.)

"But where did *you* get these? Brother, you are a chief of the great father. Be like Brock,

"Fight and live; or,
"Fight and die.

"Tecumseh, with his warriors, will not leave their children nor their lands.

"If you go, give us your guns that on to-morrow's sun we may use them."

"Tecumseh has said, and speaks no more. He fights, perhaps to die."

A scene followed, as the Indians, now excited by their chief's address, brandished their tomahawks and demonstrated their approval of Tecumseh's words. Proctor did not command the confidence of the British officers and men any more than that of the Indians, and the overthrow of the whole force on the following day is the best proof that they were correct in their judgment, as the British force opposed to Harrison's army was not marshalled, posted nor directed by their General, but was ignominiously abandoned by him in the middle of the fight to secure his personal safety. For this mismanagement Proctor was subsequently suspended.

Tecumseh, on the left, was opposed by Colonel Johnson. Tecumseh's rifle brought Johnson to the ground, severely wounded, but as Tecumseh rushed on him, tomahawk in hand, Johnson drew a pistol and killed him.

Holmes was not present at the battle, as he had been sent immediately after the council to destroy some bridges and stores, and thus prevent their being of use to the enemy.

This was accomplished, but Holmes was followed, and as he swam the river on his horse, the Americans managed to shoot the horse and then putting after Holmes in a boat captured him before he could reach the opposite share.

The little army, of not more than 300 men all told (including a squad of twenty dragoons and a few marines), surrendered as prisoners of war and were transported across Lake Erie and marched to Chilicothe. Here their miseries began, as some soldiers, captured in the attack on Queenstown, were found to be deserters from the British service. and having been transported to England, were there confined and were to be tried as deserters.

This led to reprisals and counter reprisals, with threats of execution of prisoners on both sides, and the result was that the Canadian defenders of their homes, who surrendered as " prisoners of war," were treated as malefactors, confined in dungeons, manacled, and shamefully abused, until finally they were carried to the State penitentiary in Kentucky, where Holmes had preceded them.

Holmes did not complain of ill-treatment. He admitted, however, that he felt uncomfortable about the neck, but survived to tell the tale, as the threats of reprisals by the Americans weakened so soon as the reverses of Napoleon I dashed to the ground the hopes on which the Americans had previously counted of taking advantage of the mother state and conquering Canada as they had previously tried in 1775.

On Tecumseh's personal appearance it is admitted that he was a noble type of the Indian warrior, tall, athletic and graceful, with large black eyes, swarthy complexion, and as he appeared ordinarily in time of peace, with his closely fitting fringed deer-skin coat and leggins, and in time of war with the addition of a single white feather in his black hair knotted on the top of his head, rifle in hand and tomahawk and knife in the military sash given him by General Brock, he was looked on by his followers as their " distinguished " leader, and by his enemies as the dreaded Shawnee warrior Tecumseh.

Richardson states that his body was disgracefully mutilated by the American soldiers *after* his death. His warriors eventually carried off the body and buried it—where—was never known.

Tecumseh sleeps, where, none can say,
Nor sky nor earth, as on that day,
His warriors hid their loved chief's face,
That thus the glory of their race
Should soar above a common grave,
And live in memory as their "brave."
"Unseen by human eye"—
Such was his parting sight.

NOTE.—The Lieutenant Holmes above referred to was in command of the Canadian cavalry (a force of twenty men) and Richardson speaks of him as a brave, dashing soldier. He became, as is well known, in after years a leader in Canadian politics, and as the Manager of the Bank of Montreal, the greatest financial autocrat that ever held sway in Canada. I tell the story as narrated to me by him, and thus endeavour to supply the blank referred to by Richardson.

A MONTREALER'S REMINISCENCES.

The late Henry Driscoll, Q C., noted as a wit, as well as a lawyer, and who died in Montreal about twenty years ago, bequeathed to me some of his literary miscellanea, for which I may strive to find a publisher, after I have had time to weld them together.

In looking over these papers recently, I met with an article written by him, which appeared in print, about forty years ago, in a country paper.

After leaving Trinity College, Dublin, he entered the army, and, if I remember rightly, was a short time under Wellington in the Peninsula. He was permitted to resign, in consequence of a *fracas* with a superior officer, and then came to Montreal, where he studied and practised law up to his decease.

I remember his telling me the substance of the following story, after one of his Lectures on Law. It may be new to

the bulk of your readers, and it seems to me to be of sufficient interest to ask for its admission into your pages.

JOHN POPHAM.

MONTREAL, 6th October, 1890.

I was, during many years, familiarly acquainted with ex-town-major Hughes, of Montreal, who died in 1826, aged 86. Although so old, while I knew him, his memory was singularly retentive, and he had abundance of anecdotes to relate of things which are now ancient. He came here with General (afterwards Lord) Amherst's army in 1760, and accompanied General Burgoyne's in its disastrous march to Saratoga. In person, he exhibited the remains of a very fine man, being fully six feet high, very symmetrical, and an admirable combination and strength activity. I may cite, as an instance of the latter, that, at 60 years of age, for a bet, he vaulted over four horses, placed side by side, on the Champ de Mars, in Montreal; by which feat, by the bye, he ruptured himself. When young, he fought a duel diagonally across a blanket, on the ice before Kingston, U. C., with an officer, whose name I have forgotten, but think that it was Pearce or Pearson, who he described (as, indeed, the event seems sufficiently to indicate), as a very resolute man. Neither was hurt, which is generally the case when men fight so near, the imminence of the danger, and the expectation of immediate death, depriving them of self-possession, and causing them to fire in an alarmed hurry. Another time, during a prolonged competition, he caught up in his arms, the adjutant of a regiment (I think it was the 24th), stationed at Montreal, and flung him out of a window; fortunately, the season was winter, the snow very deep and soft, and the adjutant very drunk indeed, otherwise he never afterwards would have vociferated "eyes right."

The very night of the day when, Montreal having capitulated, a detachment of the besieging army marched in

and took possession, Hughes, who, being a red-hot Irishman, could never keep quiet, performed a feat which caused no small sensation at the time, and excited much displeasure and anxiety in General Amherst himself. Leaguing with another dare-devil, the very man with whom he had fought the duel on the ice, and, each provided with a strong rope, they stole, after dark, to the Recollet Church, the two niches in front of which were ornamented with two small wooden painted statues representing Recollets, and, fixing the ropes round the neck of one, hauled with all their might until it fell to the ground, then, repeating, with like success, the process on the other, they each shouldered one, ran swiftly and cautiously away to the camp (which was at "The Priest's Farm"), drank a hasty glass of grog, buried their statues in the earth, under their beds, and slunk guiltily under their blankets. Next morning there was a terrible commotion; the inhabitants of Montreal, and especially the French Garrison, were seen assembled in groups, particularly before the Church, looking indignant and angrily gesticulating. Had not the captors been so numerically superior, and had not the garrison laid down their arms, it is impossible to say what might have been the consequence; for Roman Catholics then, as now, were laudably impatient of any slight to their religion. French troops have been always chivalrously sensitive to affront, and the Canadians themselves, become warlike by repeated conflicts with the British colonists of the now United States and their Iroquois allies, were perhaps still more formidable. After the effervescence had subsided a little, there issued forth from the angry mass a deputation consisting of the heads of the clergy, who repaired to the quarters of General Amherst, and, upon their application, were admitted to his presence. After the usual salutations and courtesies, they mildly represented that the population and military of the city were greatly exasperated at the outrage which had been committed, considering it to be at once a sacrilege and an insult to their religion. The General, expressing

his deep regret at the occurrence, declared that he felt certain that the mischief had not been due to any such feeling or intention, and assured them that he would use his utmost endeavours to discover and punish the guilty. With this assurance they declared themselves satisfied, the salutations and courtesies were repeated, and the reverend deputation withdrew. They had scarcely retired when the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the French General, with his état-major, arrived, and was admitted. As was to be expected from his profession and position, he spoke with much warmth at what he took to be a premeditated insult, declared his opinion that it had been intended as an affront to the French garrison especially, whom the want of arms alone prevented from resenting it, and sternly required the guilty to be brought to justice; otherwise (looking significantly at the British General), he would be compelled to consider the insult as abetted, and to act accordingly. A sudden color mounted to the cheeks of the British General at this hint, for he was a tall, athletic, red-haired man, and almost invariably spunky; but, subduing his emotion, he courteously answered that the army under his command esteemed too highly their French co-militaires to entertain for a moment the intention of offering the least slight to them,—that, no doubt, the deed had been done in a tipsy frolic by some one or more of those wild spirits which no camp is without, and that he should take all possible pains to discover and punish the offender or offenders. These polite assurances calmed the Marquis; for, though the French are, perhaps, the fiercest nation on the earth when they imagine that insult is offered to them, they are, at the same time, the most placable when a reasonable excuse or sufficient apology is offered. Displeasure, therefore, passed quickly from his countenance,—he replied in a like tone of courtesy, and even partaking of refreshments offered, he made a bow such as the nobles of the "ancient regime" alone could make, and with his suite, who had bowed almost as gracefully as himself, left the house. After the

jingle of spurs and clang of sabres had so far subsided as to indicate that the visitors were out of earshot, Amherst, turning to his aide de-camp on duty for the day, exclaimed in a strain and manner very unlike that which he had just used :—

Amherst—Did you ever hear of such a rumpus? May Old Nick seize whoever did that trick! Only to think of the abduction of the two little Recollets from the midst of a fire-eating French army, and a bigoted French population! (Bursts out laughing.) Well! if I could only find out the fellow or fellows who did it, I would make them smart, though, after all, upon my soul, if it were not for the row it has kicked up, I could almost have made one of the party myself. (Laughs again.) But I must do something, or these fiery Franks will be riddling or spitting us all. Who could it have been?

Aide-de Camp—(Demurely)—I cannot form the slightest idea, General. I should think it impossible to discover. The little Recollets, if found, might lead to the detection of the guilty party; but, ere this they have served, or, possibly at this very moment, are serving, in the shape of chips, to boil a camp-kettle. The soldiers would never "peach"; and, although there are in all bodies some sneaks of officers who would be disposed to do so, they dare not, for fear of being put in Coventry and despised by their comrades.

Amherst—Very true; but we must do something, "and that quickly." Surely there must be some clue to guide us. (Slapping his thigh.) By Jove! I think I have it! Who was that fellow who fights so many duels, is such a favorite with the women, and perpetrates so many practical jokes? I mean the fellow that was so strongly suspected of making the cavalry horses break loose by throwing a bundle of squibs among them, and of tying old drunken Maggy's arms and clothes above her head, the other night, and after hanging a lantern round her waist, of sounding the alarm bugle, that the whole camp might see the sight? (Bursts

out laughing.) Was not his name Lewis, Lieutenant Lewis?

Aide-de-Camp—No, General; it was Hughes—Lieutenant Hughes of the 24th.

Amherst—So it was! Go tell the scamp to come here immediately. Yet no! tell him to come here after dark; it will be better.

[*Exit Aide-de-Camp.*

Amherst—(Solus)—I almost wish that, if it is he, I may not find him out. If he is first in mischief, he is first in attack, and in any daring that humanity requires. He led the assault at Prasquile and Benango, and, at the risk of his life, saved the life of a poor fellow in that accursed Long Sault, that swallowed up most of the 14th, when we were coming down. However, if I must, I must. These Irish fellows can never keep quiet, but are constantly getting themselves and me into some scrape or other. (Throws himself discontentedly on a sofa.)

This soliloquy was overheard by the aide-de-camp, who, being a crony of Hughes, listened, in order to bring him all the information possible. When the General ceased speaking, the aide set off for the camp, and, faithfully reporting to Hughes all that had passed, told him that he must wait on the General after dark. Hughes accordingly presented himself at that time, and stood before the General, affecting as much modesty as he could, when the following dialogue took place:—

Amherst—Mr. Hughes, do you know who it was who, by tearing down and carrying away those two statues from the niches in front of the Recollet Church, has caused such a commotion among the French troops and the Roman Catholic population of this city?

Hughes—(Affecting surprise)—No, General; how should I know?

Amherst—(Severely)—Sir, I sent for you, not to ask me questions, but to answer mine. I strongly suspect that you know more than you choose to tell.

Hughes—(With an air of ingenuous candour)—No, indeed, General; I trust that my conduct has always been such as to exempt me from suspicion of being in any way implicated in that (with an austere look) most indiscreet action, to say the least of it.

Amherst—The d—l it has! Who set all the cavalry horses capering, the other night, by throwing a bundle of squibs among them? Who performed (trying to suppress a smile) that decorous feat of the old woman and the lantern?

Hughes—(Gravely)—Some very ill conducted individual, General. Both acts were bad, but the affair of the lantern was a burning shame. (The aide-de-camp laughs outright, the General puts his hand to his mouth and chuckles.)

Amherst—(Goodhumoredly)—Come! come! Master Hughes, let there be an end to this. (Smiling.) Of course you had nothing to do with it, but it is possible that you may find some clue to whoever has had. Go to the camp, assemble all the scamps of your acquaintance (as Molière says), and let them know that if the statues are replaced to-night, the operation shall not be watched, nor further enquiry be made; but, if not, I shall show no mercy to the delinquents.

Hughes—(Solemnly)—They would deserve none, General. I shall do my best, General, but cannot promise to succeed. No doubt the guilty party has taken its precautions.

Amherst—Now, there I differ with you entirely, Mr. Hughes; I have a presentiment, closely allied to certainty, that I shall see the little Recollets at their posts, or, rather, in their niches, by sunrise to-morrow.

Hughes—(Shaking his head dubiously)—I hope so, General, but I am far from sanguine.

Amherst—(Archly)—I am, Mr. Hughes; so drink off this glass of claret and be off! (Hughes drinks off the bumper, looks wistfully at the decanters, sighs, bows with an air of lamb-like innocence, and walks timidly away.)

Amherst—(To the aide-de-camp)—Did you ever see such a farce? I'd bet my commission that he was the deviser and principal executor of that mad prank. His affectation of innocence convinced me; it sat too ill upon his countenance to be real. But, suppose the statues to be replaced, what shall I say to the French about the punishment of the offenders? If I say that they cannot be discovered, I shall be suspected of screening them.

Aide-de-Camp—(Puzzled)—Really, General, I do not know. Ah! (Brightening up.) There are two men to be flogged to-morrow—each condemned to receive 500 lashes. We can spread the report that it is for the statue business, the French will be content, and the affair will blow over.

Amherst—No! a falsehood never leads to good. I shall tell the Marquis that I was unable to detect the delinquents, but that the unpleasant consequences of the trick becoming known, the perpetrators replaced the statues.

To return to Hughes. Glad to get out of the scrape so easily, he hastily ran to the camp, and conferred with his confederate. Under favor of the darkness, the statues were disinterred, and replaced that night. Next morning, the whole population thronged to see them, the French again became all cordiality, and Hughes a great favorite with the General, who, whenever he wanted to discover the perpetrators of any act inconsistent with discipline, used to send for him and say, with an arch smile: "Go, now, Hughes, and be as lucky as you were in the affair of the little Recollets."

The old gentleman related to me this affair in his eighty-fifth year; not at once, but at several times, while he was sipping his wine, and I was sitting by, listening to him. When he came to certain parts of it he used to chuckle joyously, rub his hands and crack his knuckles, exclaiming. "Those were pleasant times!" but, immediately after, with a sigh and a saddened look, adding: "Ah! non sum qualis eram!" Then, drawing himself up, as if he was

conscious of a creditable candour, he would observe, with an air of dignified seriousness: "I must acknowledge that I was somewhat wild in those days." I think, and so probably will think my readers (if I have any), that he might, without danger of exaggeration, have made his confession "somewhat" stronger.

But I am old and tired, and must stop and rest. Perhaps, if this be published, I may fish up some more of "my reminiscences."

THE GLENGARRY MILITIA OF 1812.

The following copy of the Roll of the 1st Regiment of the Glengarry Militia has been kindly furnished by Mr. William McLennan, N.P., of Montreal, whose grandfather is the Sergeant John McLennan of the roll. Appointed Quartermaster in June, 1814; he was in active service as Captain in 1838–9, and retired with the rank of Major in 1848. The return is in the handwriting of the Captain, afterwards Colonel D. McDonell of Greenfield. The regiment was probably quartered at Lancaster, when this return was made, in the barracks, which stood near the old church.

Roll of Captain Duncan McDonell's Flank Company, 1st Regiment Glengarry Militia.

Lancaster, Nov. 10, 1812.

Captain
Duncan McDonell.

Lieutenant
Donald McDermid.

Ensign
John Kennedy.

Sergeants

James Cummins. Donald Cameron. John McLennan.

Corporals

Alexander Chisholm. William McKenzie. Donald Kane.

Drummer
Reuben Ainsworth.

Privates

Donald McArthur.
Francois Astla.
Niel Bethune.
John McBean.
James Campbell.
Hugh Chisholm.
William Dunn.
William McDonell.
John Dingwall.
Allan McDonell.
Donald McDonell.
Alex. McDougall.
Archibald McDougall.
Samuel Falkner.
Ralph Falkner.
Francis Falkner.
Donald Ferguson.
John Ferguson (1st).
John Ferguson (2nd).
James Ferguson.
Angus Grant.
John McIntyre.
Duncan Grant.
Duncan McGregor.
Neil McIntosh.
Niel McLennan.
Michael Leclare.
Alexander McLennan.
Angus McLauchlin.
Malcolm McLaren.
John Muloy.
Andrew Munro.
Hugh Muloy.
Jacob Oddle.
Murdoch McPherson.
John McPherson (1st).
John McPherson (2nd).
James Pearson.
Thomas Ross (1st).
Thomas Ross (2nd).
Thomas Ross (3rd).
Hermon Lee.
David Snyder.
Jeremiah Lee.
Jacob Snyder.
Simon Snyder.
Alexander Urquhart.
Thomas Young.
James Young.
David Young.
James Williams.
John Wolf.
Moses Williams.
John McDonell.
Philip Munro.
Angus McDonell.
James McPherson.
Robert Nichol.
Isaiah Dern.
William Smith.
Donald McDonell.

Fortnight's return of Captain Duncan McDonell's Flank Company, 1st Regiment Glengarry Militia.

Lancaster, 10th Nov., 1812.

Detail.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.
Present for duty	3	3	1	36
Sick in quarters	..	..	..	5
Sick absent	..	..	..	12
On furlough	..	..	..	2
Attached to the gunboat	..	..	..	6
Total	3	3	1	61

Officers present: Duncan McDonell, *Captain.*
Donald McDermid, *Lieutenant.*
John Kennedy, *Ensign.*

THE TORONTO LANDING.

By Rev. Dr. Scadding, Toronto.

A paper read before the Society of York Pioneers (Co. York, Ontario), November 4th, 1890.

During the great Industrial Exhibition at Toronto in 1890, many persons made their way to the Exhibition Grounds on the airy decks of the fine spacious ferry-boats *May Flower* and *Primrose* and were in this way for the first time conducted to the magnificent wharf or jetty, recently built at the expense of the city, at the foot of Dufferin Street, running out some seven hundred feet into the waters of the Bay. In adopting this mode of approach to the Exhibition Park, the citizen or stranger had the advantage of obtaining an interesting view as he passed along of what we may call the historic portion of the city front.

First, he had a glimpse of the old garrison, now disused, from a bastion of which for so many years floated the flag of England, where also for a long series of years, the firing of a cannon at noon every day gave the time of the surrounding neighbourhood, and within the precincts of which was situated the magazine whose explosion in 1813 caused such devastation in the ranks of an invading force.

Then next he saw the group of white stone buildings known as the new barracks, though in fact now some forty years old, in actual use as quarters for a detachment of our incorporated militia, situated on the spot pointed out by the eminent military engineer, Captain Gotha Mann, in 1788, as being best adapted for a fort to protect a town and settlement when there should be any such object hereabout to protect; a judgment of his, however, which appears not to have been adopted by the authorities at the time. And then, immediately after, he had a striking view of the monument which, since the year 1888, has marked the exact site of the Indian trading post, known as Fort Toronto from 1749 and onwards, the remains of which were so noticeable in 1788, that Captain Mann describes them by the term

"Ruins," on his map of this region, which ruins he delineates on a small scale a short distance to the west of the spot which he designates as eligible, in his judgment, for a protecting fort. Finally, the visitor disembarks at the foot of a noble street, which, though opened up and utilized only of late, has acquired much importance as an approach to the Exhibition Grounds, and is invested also with a peculiar interest as being one of the side lines laid out in the old original survey of Augustus Jones between every fifth two-hundred acre lot in the range extending from the York and Scarboro' town line to the Humber.

It is in regard to the romance, so to speak, connected with the new landing place at the foot of the street just referred to, that I desire to put on record one or two observations.

This landing place represents, more nearly than any other along our city front, the original landing place at the foot of the cliff, immediately under the palisades of the old French trading post, where from time to time, small fleets of bark canoes and other frail craft were to be seen putting in from the east, west and south for purposes of traffic more than a hundred years ago.

It so happens that the surveyor Augustus Jones makes a note in his field book, that he ran this particular line beween lots 30-31, two chains to the west of the old French Fort, so that the new landing place is situated just that small distance from the landing on the beach below the trading post.

This fact will certainly become a matter of increased interest in the future, when the landing place at the foot of Dufferin street shall have become a customary stopping place, as it is expected one day to be, for steamers from Niagara and Hamilton, not only at exhibition time, but at other periods also throughout the year. The jetty or wharf at the foot of Dufferin street has the fine peculiarity also of being in a direct line with that street; while in the case of

every other street traversing Toronto from north to south to the water's edge, the street ends in a "slip," or narrow compartment of water with wharfage accommodation on the right and left, while in this case the street is as we have seen continued out uninterruptedly on a broad roomy jetty, some seven hundred feet in length.

The landing place at the old French trading post was aforetime *par excellence* "the Toronto landing," and the space in its immediate neighbourhood seems to have been spoken of in a general way as Toronto, when as yet no town plot of that or any other name had been then laid out. When for example the Official Gazette at Niagara-across-the-lake announced in its columns that His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor had just embarked in His Majesty's schooner, *The Missisaga* for Toronto, it was to this particular spot that reference was made, and here probably he and his suite would be put ashore from the Government vessel in some canoe or light boat, sent out from the strand below the fort. It is also likely that His Excellency's famous canvas house (noted by Bouchette, p. 89, vol. 1, of his "British Dominion") was in the first instance set up somewhere near the edge of the cliff at this spot. Around the trading post at Toronto we know, from the journal of Major Robert Roger's, 1760, p. 206, there was a large cleared space which would be convenient for such a purpose; and from this point the enterprising Governor would conduct his explorations eastward to the site of the proposed town, afterwards surveyed and laid out under his inspection by Augustus Jones. At a subsequent period the migratory house may have been removed to where the garrison was afterwards established at the junction of the Garrison Creek with the Bay.

It will be of use to allude to an expression in connection with the landing here. Charlevoix designates it on his map by the term Teiaiagon. (See Charlevoix's "Histoire de la Nouvelle France." Quarto. Paris 1744, page 276. The map

is by Bellin.) In regard to this Teiaiagon some ambiguity has arisen, another Teiaiagon having been said to exist some way eastward on the shore of the lake, nearly where the town of Port Hope now stands. This is asserted in D. W. Smith's First Gazetteer of Upper Canada, page 143, who uses, indeed, an orthography slightly different, but the same term is evidently intended.

The explanation seems to be this: that every important landing along the coast of the lake would be named by the Missisagas or Otchipway, Teiaiagon, the meaning of the term being, as I am assured by well-informed authority (the late Mr. Allen Macdonell, of Toronto), a landing where a trail or portage commences, leading to some other important water route.

The Teiaiagon at Port Hope would be the terminus on Lake Ontario of the portage to the chain of back lakes leading to Lake Huron, and the Teiaiagon at Toronto was the southern terminus of the portage via the valleys of the Humber and Holland rivers to Lake Simcoe, and beyond also to the waters of Lake Huron.

As I have often before pointed out (it will be no harm to repeat the circumstance) in Charlevoix's map at the period when the landing here is designated Teiaiagon, the lake to the north which *we* call Lake Simcoe is designated Lake Toronto.

The word Toronto, as is known from the testimony of a long tradition, signifies a place of meeting, or populous region, the reference being to the territory between this lake and Lake Huron thickly peopled with the Huron or Wyandot tribes.

In the dictionary of Gabriel Sagard, a Recollet missionary who labored at an early period among the Hurons, the word Toronto occurs as also Otoronto. As applied to an inanimate thing, both words denoted a great quantity of it, as applied to men they each denoted a great number of them.

The word Toronto, often heard in connection with the idea of large numbers, would be readily transformed by the French into a local name for the populous region inhabited by the Hurons or Wyandots, and be applied also as such to the small lake situated in the midst of that region.

After the Huron tribes had been extirpated by the invading Iroquois about 1649, the term continued for a time in use, although no longer applicable, and at length altogether disappeared from the maps of the region, but strangely and happily it survived as a designation for the landing place on Lake Ontario, where traders and others had been wont to disembark for the purpose of making the portage to the populous region to the north. The letter at the end, giving to the last syllable a French nasal sound, has been dropped; as in Oswego, for Ochoueguen.

The term Teiaiagon was no longer heard, being displaced by the new appellation Toronto now so familiar to us all.

Our technical use of the word "landing place," has been derived from the old voyageur days of Canada, and it corresponds exactly in its significance with the Indian term Teiaiagon, signifying a place where you disembark to perform a necessary portage of greater or less length. "Dickenson's Landing" used to be a familiar expression amongst us as perhaps we shall remember. It was where the traveller left the bateaux in order to go round by land past the Long Sault. The Queenston landing frequently styled, as we shall remember, by way of eminence, "*The* Landing" was where you disembarked to make the portage round the Falls of Niagara. Prince Arthur's Landing at the head of Lake Superior, originated, I believe, in the fact that it was where the Prince disembarked for the land journey to western waters.

Curiously, the expression "Holland Landing," continues to this day to be familiar to travellers on Yonge street, and the passengers by the cars of the Northern railway. It is an interesting reminder of the time when "Toront

landing" had its full force of meaning as denoting the southern ending of the portage, of which Holland Landing was the northern beginning; for it was just here where voyageurs from the waters of Lake Huron and Lake Simcoe after passing a few miles up the Holland river disembarked to make the portage southward by the valley of the Humber to the Toronto landing.

To render the discussion a little less incomplete, two or three observations are subjoined which may be regarded as "foot notes," intended to throw light on points here and there touched on in the text.

Note 1. After the disappearance from the maps of the expression Lake Toronto, as a designation for the lake which we know now as Lake Simcoe, several other names for that sheet of water appear in French and English documents. The most important of these would seem to be the French expression Lac-aux-Claies, that is, Hurdle Lake, apparently with allusion to some arrangement for spearing fish at the narrows of the lake. This name is given in D. W. Smith's First Gazetteer. English teachers and land surveyors corrupted the French expression Lac-aux-Claies into Lac-le-Clie, or Lac-la-Clie, a word having no meaning. In Captain Gotha Mann's map the old trail of the portage starting from Lake Ontario, is designated as "Part of the road towards Lake la Clie."

The primitive land surveyor Augustus Jones, also makes a note in his field book, when in the course of his operations in these parts he comes out upon the trail leading to Lake la Clie. D. W. Smith likewise notices the variation. It is of interest to subjoin that the route in the present High Park, Toronto, marked "Indian road," is a portion of the track referred to.

Other names apparently of Indian origin were likewise applied to Lake Simcoe, such as Sinion or Sheniong, said by some to mean Silver Lake. D. W. Smith has also noted

these names. Another native term, uncouth enough, for this lake, supplied by the same authority, was Ouentironk, Latinized, by Creuxius in the map given by Bressani, into *Lacus Ouentaronicus*, an effort probably to express the Otorontan of Sagard, *Beaucoup de gens*, etc.

Note 2. I have elsewhere recorded the fact that many years ago I had cognisance of a manuscript map of Western Canada at Wolford in Devon, bearing date about 1792, in which Toronto was marked, described as follows: "Toronto, an Indian village now deserted." I have no doubt that the "Indian village now deserted," really meant the remains of the Indian trading post known as Fort Toronto. In Gotha Mann's time these remains were sufficiently extensive to induce him to describe them as "Ruins" on his map, and he was able to delineate distinctly on a small scale five buildings within the enclosure of the palisade.

These remains may have afforded a partial shelter from time to time for wandering bands of Indians, and here probably were accommodated the ten Missisaga families of whom Commodore Bouchette speaks, page 89, vol. 1, of his "British Dominions in North America" as constituting the sole inhabitants of Toronto when, at the command of the Government, he commenced the survey of the harbor.

The remains of the old French Fort at Toronto were numerous and sufficiently conspicuous down to the year 1879, when a cairn was erected at the expense of the corporation, bearing a suitable inscription to mark the spot.

The necessities of the Public Industrial Exhibition, instituted about that period, required that the ground hereabout should be levelled down and sodded, causing the entire obliteration of the surface marks, which had to that date been so visible, of the foundations of the wooden buildings of the fort and of the palisade which surrounded it.

The remains of the cairn, with its inscription, are now to be seen on the east side of the base of the monument, which has since been erected to mark the same spot.

In 1889 the cemetery or small burying plot appertaining to the fort was discovered during excavation for the purpose of forming an artificial pond of water some yards to the north of the monument, just beyond the line of the palisade inclosure. A row of skeletons arranged in order was found.

One body had apparently been irregularly deposited at a shallower depth than the rest. I like to think that this may have been the body of a French soldier who, we are told, had been missing after having been sent from Niagara with despatches, and met with foul play on the journey. The body may have been found in the woods and hurriedly deposited there. (See p. 14 of my "History of the old French Fort, Toronto.")

Note 3. The mode of spelling the word Toronto on the oldest French maps and in the earliest reports of the Intendants to Paris, Bigot and others, as also in the letters of LaSalle and LaHontan, is exactly that which is in use amongst us now, but towards 1759, may be observed now and then some slight variations in the orthography of the word, evidently arising from an attempt to express by ear the sounds contained in the syllables of the word, *e* and *a* appearing as substitutes for the one or other of the three *o*'s of the fine Indian term.

In the English period after 1760, a want of certainty about these *o*'s also occasionally appears in documents. Thus Gotha Mann unfortunately spelt Toronto with an *e* in the middle syllable in his famous map of 1788, but it is to be observed that in the written report to the Government which accompanied the map, the mode of spelling is Toronto, showing that he had obtained more accurate information. At a later period, a notion seems to have prevailed among some English writers that the word was Italian, connected in some way with the familiar "Tarento," possibly used as a proper name by some French engineer. This, of course, was all very absurd, proving the entire ignorance of the writers in regard to the early history of the spot. It

should be observed, too, that Lossing, in his pictorial "History of the War of 1812," published in New York in 1869, indulges in several speculations with regard to the name Toronto, equally without historical foundation. In the wood-cut which Lossing gives (p. 593,) of the site of the old French Fort, Toronto, it is amusing to notice that he is sketching the neighbouring rifle butts under the impression that these are bastions of the old French Fort, while at the same moment the rough protuberances of soil and turf on which he is seated, really were portions of the remains of which he was in quest.

Old Mr. John Ross, whom some of us may remember, had directed Mr. Lossing accurately enough to the desired locality, but being an invalid, he had not accompanied the artist thither. Had he done so, the ridiculous mistake would have been avoided.

Lossing mentions the Trees-in-the-water interpretation of the word Toronto; some sound resembling the Huron word Toronto, has suggested the notion that such was the meaning of the term Toronto, and the trees in question were explained to be those that used formerly to be seen opposite on the island. The name Toronto did not originate in this locality at all; it took its origin from the populous place of meeting of the Wyandot bands, situated far to the north between what we now call the Lakes Huron and Simcoe, so that the Trees-in-the-water theory must have been an afterthought and is historically without foundation.

Note 4. It will be well, perhaps, to remind the modern visitor to the site of the primitive Toronto landing and to its successor at the foot of Dufferin street, that some changes have taken place along the shore of the bay here through the action of the waters of the lake.

In 1749, when the trading post was built, the cliff without doubt ran out some yards beyond its present limit, and a slight projection from the shore gave shelter to canoes and small craft drawn up in front of the palisades. The broad sheets of flat rock visible here when the waters are

calm give indications of some slight projection from the cliff. Within the memory of living men a beach of considerable breadth was to be seen along the whole of the shore of the Bay of Toronto, giving room for a road occasionally travelled.

The authorities who have charge of the Exhibition Park, checked to some extent the encroachments of the lake, and an untiring vigilance will be required to prevent serious injury in the future.

Notes.

Canadians in the Bastille.

Mr. Philéas Gagnon, of Quebec, who is well known to collectors of Canadian books, contributes an article to a recent number of *L'Union Liberale*, in which he calls attention to several interesting documents, and shows that some of the prisoners in the famous Chateau of the Bastille were men whose names appear in the early records of this country. It is well known that when the Bastille was taken, a number of documents were, in the first place, thrown out into the court-yard, and afterwards scattered to all parts of the world, as they had fallen into the hands of collectors, before the Government of the day realized the importance of preserving them. A large part of this collection was secured by a member of the Russian Diplomatic Corps, and now enriches the Imperial Library at St. Petersburgh.

Mr. Gagnon tells his readers that one of his correspondents in Paris recently offered him a bundle of these documents, and was good enough to send them out for his inspection. Amongst them he found several orders relating to prisoners whose names were already familiar to him, and it is these which form the subject of his article.

The first is an order signed "de Sartine," who was chief of police in 1764, in which year it bears date, and is addressed to the Count de Jumilhac, who was then Governor

of the Bastille. It is an order to allow Madame Péan and Madame de Linot to visit the Sieur Péan whenever they choose to do so. This document is endorsed with the dates of the various visits, from which it appears that these ladies visited the Sieur Péan 58 times between the 3rd March and the 29th June.

Another document, dated the 9th April, 1764, is a request to allow a notary to visit this same prisoner, who wishes to give a power of attorney to his brother-in-law, Mr. de Meloizes, who is about leaving for Canada, to realize upon the goods of the Sieur Péan there.

This Sieur Péan, whose name in full was Michel Jean Hughes, was a knight of the Order of St. Louis, and ex-captain and adjutant of marines in Canada, and was an accomplice of the notorious Bigot.

It is said that Péan's position in this ring resulted from Bigot's admiration for his wife, who is said to have been a beautiful woman who knew how to use her charms to promote her interests. Péan was imprisoned in the Bastille on the 13th November, 1761, by an order signed "Louis," and countersigned "Choiseul."

Another of the Bigot party who shared the fate of Péan was Jean Cadet, who, during the last three years of the French domination in this country, was Commissary-General. He was of humble origin, but became immensely rich, and the author of his Memoirs, which were published by the Historical Society of Quebec, remarks that he lived in the same style as the Chevalier de Levis, and kept up the retinue of a General. In the proceedings which were taken against him on his return to France, he was condemned to be banished for nine years, to pay 300 *livres* fine, and to return six millions, which, as a matter of fact, he never did, although it is said that his defence cost him 300,000 *livres*. Amongst his associates in this trial were Pénisseau, la Barthe, Duverger, Maurin, Corperon, Bigot, Péan, Le Mercier, Varin, Jonquaire, de Boishebert, Martel, de Villers, Fayolle, Barbel and Vaudreuil.

The other documents relate chiefly to the same matter, and are all dated in 1764.

It is curious to note that nearly every member of this famous ring was arrested on the 13th November, 1761, as soon as he set foot in France after their return from Canada, and at the end of a voyage which had been so rough and dangerous that they had despaired of ever reaching their native land.

The trial commenced in December of the same year. Cadet at first protested his innocence, but finally made a full and complete confession. It was argued by Bigot's advocate in answer to the charge that he had carried on business in Canada contrary to the edicts of 1669 and 1701, that these edicts were invalid by reason of non-registration by the Superior Council in New France. Of twenty-one persons who were accused in this famous trial, ten only were found guilty.

Mr. Gagnon acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Benjamin Sulte for the information that Francois Marie Perot who was Governor of Montreal in 1672, had also been a prisoner in the Bastille for three months in the autumn of 1674. This was intended as a punishment for having resisted the orders of Frontenac in connection with the arrest of de Carion.

In a note which appears on page 679 of the fifth volume of "Margry Memoirs and Documents, etc., Paris, 1887," it is stated that the 31st July, 1718, is the date at which Lamothe-Cadillac left the Bastille. Mr. Gagnon has not been able to find any other mention of the imprisonment of this person and asks for information.

It is curious to note the divergence of opinion as to the treatment of the prisoners in this famous Chateau. According to some the table was sumptuous and the prisoners had the free use of an attendant. On the other hand, some of the prisoners appear to have taken a very different view of it, and it is not unnatural to suppose that the treatment varied not a little.

The article from which the above is drawn is one of a series which Mr. Gagnon has contributed to this newspaper in relation to the early history of Canada. These articles have done not a little to stimulate the interest in historical research, which is certainly increasing.

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THE QUEBEC BILL.

CANADA'S TRANSITION STATE.

A paper read by MR. GERALD E. HART before the Society for Historical Studies, Montreal, November, 1890.

"Voici le Pape du Canada et le Sot des Anglicans,"* were the significant words appended to the small but handsome marble statue of George the Third, the gift of the King to the city, now decorated with full papal insignia, mitre, cross and rosary, the face even bedaubed with lamp black, which met the eyes of the astounded citizens of Montreal as they wended their way to their places of business on the morning of the 1st May, 1775.

The motive was suspected and generally understood, so that there was an evident lack of zeal attending the efforts to discover the actual perpetrators, the authorities, no doubt, realising that they were treading on dangerous ground. Heavy rewards were offered and much apparent indignation expressed. An example had to be found and a martyr made, and as a young merchant, named Franks, did not denounce the act as loudly as all others, and had the

* Here is the Pope of Canada and the Fool of Englishmen.

hardihood to tell a new king's councillor of the now rising French-Canadian nation, that it was not customary to hang for so trivial an offence in England, Mr. Picotté de Belestre shewed his authority by having him committed to prison. This may have been for the insult to his dignity, rather than any well-grounded suspicion that he was the perpetrator. In those days a magistrate could imprison without assigning cause, and thus Mr. Franks was not aware of the crime laid at his feet. The whole body of English merchants offered to become his bail; but the Governor, as soon as it reached his ears at Quebec, saw fit, without enquiry of any kind, to release him within a week and to severely reprimand Mr. Belestre for his officiousness.

History oft repeats itself and we have here a verification of the adage, for the self-same cause occasioned this insult to the King as in after years, 1849, the loss of the seat of Government to Montreal; acts of sedition, unpardonable in themselves, but the expression or voice of an indignant people in condemnation of the Government for granting or yielding to French supremacy in an English colony to the detriment of English rule.

No day in the annals of Canada since the conquest, has been invested with the constitutional importance of this memorable May day of 1775. We may well call it "the birthday of Canada's autonomy," for on this day the "Quebec Act" was to come into force, the first act of the British Legislature having reference to Canada, the foundation of our present political status and the laws under which we are governed.

It was this act which had aroused the indignation of the British population, and a large number of the French citizens of Montreal, from whose hand, no doubt, the insult had emanated, as the language used, and subsequent acts, would imply, and well would it have been had this childish treatment of the king's effigy been the sole outcome of the wrath of the people; but unfortunately it was not destined

to end here, and much more serious consequences soon followed.

To understand the political condition of the country, it will be necessary to revert to 1760, when England assumed the administration of affairs.

For the four years immediately following the conquest, Canada remained under military jurisdiction, with Major Gen. James Murray acting as governor in chief in immediate succession to General Amherst, to whom the surrender of the country was made. The French peasants accustomed to military dominancy did not find his rule at all irksome. He was moreover largely guided in his legal decisions upon civil matters by the advice of the French advocates, notable among whom was François Joseph Cugnet, a very able and talented Canadian, who exercised for years after this immense influence with the British governors, and this tended to render his administration very popular with the people. Cugnet's influence extended even beyond the limits of this province, his opinion being sought by the English ministry in all questions affecting the old inhabitants.

In 1763, after the treaty of peace had been signed by which the conquest of Canada for the British Crown was ratified, King George the Third issued his royal proclamation putting an end to the military regime and substituting for it English laws and customs. The words used are :— "That in the meantime, and until such assemblies " (referring to a preceding section in which the governor was authorized to summon and call general assemblies of the people)" could be called, all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to His Majesty's said colonies " (referring to the distributing of his American conquests into four colonies, Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Granada)" might confide in His Majesty's royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of his realm of England.....for the hearing and determining of all causes, as well criminal as civil,

according to law and equity, and, as near as may be, agreeably to the laws of England."

Governor Murray and his council of twelve, partly appointed by England and partly by himself, immediately promulgated this proclamation and in his first or great ordinance dated 17th September, 1764, constituting the courts of justice, these English laws, in abolition of the French law in its entirety, were put into force with the solitary reservation " that the French laws and customs should be allowed and admitted in all causes in the said court (Common Pleas) between the natives of the said province, in which the cause of action arose before the first day of October, 1764." A Court of Chancery was further established with the Governor as Chancellor, and two Masters, two examiners and one registrar. Full effect was thus given to the king's proclamation, but Murray, under the all-powerful influence of Cugnet and the French gentry soon upset the whole force of the king's edict by the resolution of council adopted the following month : " That in actions relative to the tenure of lands and rights of inheritance, the laws and usages of Canada should be observed as the rule of decision according to equity, conformable to the former ordinance." This was never confirmed by the king, and as the Governor and Council had no authority to pass such a resolution, it was not only illegal but wholly *ultra vires*, nevertheless it was acted upon and rendered " confusion worse confounded" in the decisions of the courts under the two systems of law thus brought into force; a constant cause of complaint to the Crown in after years, and which ultimately brought about the Canada Act of 1891.

General Murray, after the conquest resided in Quebec, where he soon became on most intimate terms with the French gentry, all of whom had become British subjects by taking the oath of fidelity. Son of Lord Elibank and of an autocratic turn of mind he could not condescend to associate with the commoners from England who came to settle

in the country, many of whom felt the unjust imperiousness of his nature and the pointed slights he gave them. From the constitution of society of that day, it was natural for Murray to find his associates and friends largely among the self-styled French noblesse, not one of whom were peers in fact but gentry only, of whom there were one hundred and fifty chiefly residing in Quebec—rather than among the English residents, chiefly merchants who followed in the wake of the conquest, respectable and wealthy as many of them were, intelligent as they proved themselves to be, the progenitors of our race, but unequal in social status to the aristocracy of England with which Murray was allied. To properly appreciate this feeling we have only to remember the power of the nobility and the great divisions of society which existed in all European countries at that time.

Dissatisfied with Murray's many acts of partiality towards the French-Canadians and the introduction of the French law in several of the ordinances which he and his council made, the British population held indignation meetings and petitioned the king for his dismissal. The London merchants trading with Canada supported this in a remonstrance and petition they laid before the Board of Trade and Plantations. The result, was Murray's recall within two years of his appointment as governor! He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Irving as administrator, he being the oldest councillor, but he in turn was almost immediately superseded by Brigadier General Sir Guy Carleton who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1766, and Governor-in-Chief in 1768. He was no improvement on Murray, but far more diplomatic and less imperious. He was politic enough not to show his hand at all times and knew how "to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds." He still retained the counsel of Cugnet which was ever unfavorable to British interests, but fewer ordinances were passed than under Murray favoring this law-maker's opinions.

The best illustration of Carleton's character may be gathered from his reply to the king's request for a report from him upon the best system of laws for the colony. Having in view the ignoble discomfiture of his predecessor and his wreck upon a somewhat similar rock, he sailed around it, by an artful report, the concluding clause of which reads ; —"That they (Governor and Council) cannot draw a balance in favor of any one of these methods in preference of the other, nor find a new one preferable to them all, being unequal to the task. We have no other merit than that of giving some information of facts. Your Majesty is best able to decide."

In 1773, Sir Guy visited England and while there he was faced with two petitions to the king, one from the British residents in Canada stating that they numbered over 3,000 and asking that the king instruct the Governor to convene the House of Assembly expressly granted to them by the terms of the royal proclamation of 1763 and for which they had waited ten long years, representing that the situation and circumstances of the province required the same. In the memorial accompanying it, it was intimated that ordinances repugnant to British laws were constantly being passed, and the petitioners recommended that an assembly subject to the king's pleasure (thus not objecting to Catholic representation if he saw fit to have it) should be convened.

The other was from the French noblesse, advocates, and others, expressly adverse to any House of Assembly being convened, but asking for an enlarged executive council to assist the Governor in which they were to have full representation. * Also for the repeal of that part of the proclamation of 1763 in which the English laws were made absolute and further asking for the restoration of their laws, privileges and customs, and the extension of the boundaries of the province to its former (French) limits. They also asked to be allowed to hold office under the Crown and entreated

* Hitherto they had been excluded owing to their religion.

for the rights and privileges of citizens of England. The petition was signed by sixty-five names, many of whom were boys and lads at school, representing that they spoke in the name of over one hundred thousand French-Canadians resident in the country.*

More they could not ask for and more they could not wish for, than they obtained in reply to this remarkable petition. The rights and penalties of conquest were completely expunged and the vanquished were now the victors. Well may their writers of to-day proclaim, "We were ceded not conquered!"

Within a few months of the presentation of these petitions, a bill from the House of Lords, where it had been passed without a challenge, was introduced by the Government in the Commons in the last days of the session of Parliament of 1774, when not over 130 members out of 558 were present upon a division, entitled "An Act for regulating the Government of the Province of Quebec," better known as "The Quebec Bill." Rushed through the Houses with undue haste, notwithstanding petitions and remonstrances from the merchants of London concerned in the Canada trade, and Cursitor Baron Maseres, acting on behalf of the British residents of the province, the bill was passed, and received the king's assent in the face of a very strong protest from the corporation of the city of London. Thus became law the famous "Quebeck Bill" (14 George III, chap. 83), and it was very soon seen that the French petition of sixty-five individuals had supplied the basis of its provisions.

By it the French civil law and Roman Catholic dominancy were established in Canada.

Tithes and all the other church dues were now made legally collectable, which had not been the case since the con-

* At this time the French Canadian population exceeded 150,000 as proved by evidence in the proceedings of the Quebec Bill. *For list of these names see p. 193 of appendix.*

quest, fifteen years previous. Roman Catholic disabilities as to tenure of office were removed. The limits of the province were largely extended. In short by this bill, the whole fabric of English dominancy in the province of Quebec was for ever, at one fell blow, annihilated, leaving but a British protectorate as a result of the heroic conquests of Wolfe and Amherst, to meet the groaning expense of which the foundation of England's public debt was largely laid.

Such a bill as this, it would be natural to infer, would have made the hearts of his Canadian new subjects, as they were called, rejoice. But not so; the peasantry in whose name the bill had been procured and whom it was specially intended to benefit, mourned in sackcloth and ashes the moment information as to its provisions reached them. "Are we reverting to the old bygone days of French rule, when we were as slaves in the land, subject to every whim and order of our seigniors and priests?" asked they of each other? "If so, we repudiate the action of these sixty-five self-termed representatives and will not accept the bill. We have been quite satisfied with British institutions and treatment during the past fifteen years, and wish for no change. We have had liberty of action, and have materially benefitted by the liberality in purchase of our products. We have supported our priests and church voluntarily and have received politeness which we were unaccustomed to, and much better service in consequence."

These sentiments found expression in a petition of remonstrance forwarded by the British residents to the king and Parliament asking for the repeal of the bill: "And whereas an Act of Parliament has lately passed, intituled, an Act for making more effectual provision for the Government of the province of Quebec, which is said to have been passed upon the principles of humanity and justice, and at the pressing instance and request of the new subjects, signified to His Majesty by an humble petition setting forth their dislike to the British laws and form

of Government, and praying in the name of all the inhabitants and citizens of the province, to have the French institutes in their stead and a total abolition of trials by jury, together with a capacity of holding places of honor and trust in common with His Majesty's ancient (British) subjects; we crave leave to inform your honorable House, that the said petition was never imparted to the inhabitants in general, that is, the freeholders, merchants and traders, who are equally alarmed with us at the Canadian laws being to take place, but was in a secret manner carried about, and signed by a few of the seigneurs, chevaliers, advocates, and others in their confidence at the suggestions and under the influence of the priests."

To this petition one hundred and eighty-four representative names by committees from all over the country were appended including many French; and it was stated it would have received a much larger French acquiescence by signatures were it not that the act had been obtained by their priests with whom they did not wish to be on ill terms or offend.

In England likewise the bill was very hotly denounced after it had passed, and innumerable pamphlets with inflammatory titles and cartoons, the popular mode of expression of the day, were issued. But all to no avail; the bill had become law, and was not to be altered by petitions, remonstrances or public denunciation.

That the civil disabilities of the people arising from their religion only, should be removed, does credit to Carleton and Edmund Burke (the latter, in all other particulars, strongly opposed the bill) with which liberality and justice none will disagree. The French inhabitants had taken the oath of fidelity to the Crown and were fully entitled to all the privileges of British subjects. The pages of Canadian history have been too much darkened by religious dissensions and disabilities, and are so to-day, for the prosperity and welfare of the country. It is a relic of barbarism, of that re-

grettable mediæval period, the dark ages, that any body of people should be ostracised from political preferment for religious belief; the accident of birth or the heritage of ancestry. But no less dangerous is the doctrine that any such religion should receive state recognition, especially when contrary to the established faith of the Crown of the country to which it owes allegiance, or possess privileges not accorded to all other faiths, simply because it is numerically the strongest. Such was the blunder of Carleton's advice and Lord North's action; but this was a period of blunders for which kingcraft was more responsible than the elected ministry of the country; the "Quebeck Bill," which emanated from the king himself, contained many provisions contrary to the written opinion and views of the high law officers and ministers of the Crown, and it was largely owing to the authorship of the bill that it prevailed.

It is not therefore a matter of much surprise that the French-Canadian peasantry, uncertain of the benefits to accrue to them under this act in other regards than that of the rescinding of their religious disabilities, were not long in doubt as to the course they should adopt during the American invasion which almost immediately followed the coming into force of this obnoxious bill on the 1st May, 1775. Openly espousing the cause of the invaders, they rendered the way easy for the conquest of Montreal, the whole of Lower Canada, and the investiture of Quebec, many joining the invaders notwithstanding that Bishop Briand used all the thunders of the church to prevent them, and tried in vain to get them to join the British forces and remain loyal, but they were independent and free men then and shewed it, the clergy had not yet recovered its grip of former and after days.

With a very small garrison and requiring soldiers to repel the invaders, Carleton applied to the seigniors for help, the friends for whom he had done so much. Quoting from an author of the day, we will see in his own language how far

the influence of the gentry over the people extended. Thus, M. Taschereau, the seignior of Beauce, endeavored to enlist the services of his censitaires but was indignantly refused, they adding that they did not now acknowledge his authority over them, or that he had any right to command their military service. Mr. La Corne, seignior of Terrebonne, summoned his tenants, and received for answer: "We have now become subjects of England and do not look on ourselves as Frenchmen in any respect whatever." Mr. La Corne, unaccustomed to being disobeyed by his vassals, struck some of those who spoke loudest; this provoked the people to such a degree he had to beat a hasty retreat to Montreal, threatening to return with an armed force to compel them. The people hearing this forthwith armed themselves, some with guns, others with clubs, and they all resolved to die rather than submit to be commanded by their seigniors.

Mr. Deschambaud went over to his seigniory on the River Richelieu and harangued the inhabitants in a similar manner. Like consequences and refusal ensued. He drew his sword; they surrounded him and beat him severely. Fearing reprisals, they armed themselves to the number of near 3,000 and marched from Fort Chambly to Fort St. Johns to face the two regiments of regulars in garrison there. General Carleton sent an officer to disavow the acts of their seignior and requested them to disperse, stating that all would be well if they would return to their homes. This was immediately complied with. Mr. Cuthbert, an English gentleman, who had purchased the seigniory of Berthier, imitating the manners of the French, summoned his censitaires to assemble at his house and received for answer, that if he had anything to communicate he might come to them; appointing a cross road as the place of meeting. Mr. Cuthbert came thither and made an immediate demand of their services, as their seignior, to repel the invader. They replied "that if that was his business with them, he had best retire to his own

home and trouble them no more, for that not a man of them would follow him. And as soon as he was gone they all made oath on the cross round which they were assembled, that they never would take arms against the invaders; that if one among them offered to join the Government, they would directly burn his house and his barn, and destroy his cattle; and that, if General Carleton should attempt to compel them into service, they would repel force by force."

This happened in the latter end of July or the beginning of August, 1775.

Afterwards, about the end of September, Mr. Lanaudière, seignior of another place, came to them from Montreal and said that he was employed by General Carleton to lead them against the provincials—martial law having been declared in the interval—otherwise he assured them that their lands and houses should be laid waste and burnt. Upon his return in a few days to enforce his mission he, Mr. Tonnancour, and sixteen others who accompanied him were all made prisoners by the inhabitants.

Warm debates ensued among them, whether or not they should send Mr. Lanaudière to the provincial (invaders) camp near St. Johns. It was at length agreed to set him and his friends at liberty on his promise to obtain for them General Carleton's pardon for this outrage, and on his further promise never to come again amongst them on a like errand.

Violent as the proceedings of these people may appear, and averse as they may seem to the service required of them, they had intimated that if General Carleton would promise by affixing a writing to that purpose to the church door, that he would use his influence and endeavors for the repeal of the Quebec Bill and for restoring to them those privileges of which they were deprived by its operation; in that case they all declared themselves ready to defend the province for Government. "But," say they, "as things

are now circumstanced, what have we to fight for? We have enjoyed very valuable privileges since we became subjects of Great Britain; we had the royal promise for the continuance of that enjoyment. On a sudden, without our having done anything to merit such treatment, we are deprived of those inestimable privileges, and reduced to our former state of slavery. The people whom we are desired to regard as our enemies tell us they are our real friends and they give us convincing proofs of their sincerity.

They are now in arms for our defence from our oppressors; and they make *the repeal of the Quebec Bill one of the conditions on which they offer to lay them down.* Which party then ought we to assist? Certainly that one which is fighting for the restoration of that liberty to us, of which we have been wantonly and most cruelly deprived by the other."

It is further added "this is not the language of that dis- "trict (Berthier) only; the same is in the mouths of the "most ignorant peasants all over the province."

Carleton promised but did not perform, and therefore did not succeed, notwithstanding his proclamation of martial law, in securing the services of any considerable number of the French peasantry; on the other hand some openly joined the forces of the provincials while the greater number maintained a doubtful neutrality so long as they remained on Canadian soil. Well was it for England that no Papineau arose among them at this time, as nothing would then have prevented the onward course of the provincials to the summit of Quebec Hill and the planting in after days of the Stars and Stripes with a fourteenth star for Canada, on the citadel flagstaff.

Reviewing the events of this period in the light of the present, it is difficult to comprehend the attitude of the French-Canadians (the tiers-état) towards their priesthood, their nobility and their laws, all of which they held so dear and cherished under French regime, in thus openly pro-

claiming their opposition to them then and dissatisfaction with any movement tending to restore, even partially, the customs they formerly lived under. Fifteen years of liberty outweighed one hundred and fifty years of the former religious and military dominancy.

Evidently a plebiscite would have altered the destiny of Canada, for an overwhelming majority would have declared in favor of the adoption of the whole body of English customs and laws.

It is likewise a strange anomaly to find England pursuing so different a course in the treatment of her conquest of Canada to that which she had universally adopted hitherto. Dealing with such populous countries as Ireland and Wales she enforced the adoption of her laws and customs. Conquering New Netherland she not only made the Hollanders replace their laws by hers, but she added the greater change of transforming it into a new country by altering its name to New York. In her other conquests made in this very war, of Florida, Dominica and other places in the West Indies, she substituted English, for the Spanish and French laws and customs in use.

Foreign languages likewise received no official recognition elsewhere as they did in Canada; while the Roman Catholic religion wherever existent was proscribed as a *religion of state*, tolerated in Maryland, persecuted in Ireland, but established in Canada!

Wherefore the concessions to Canada? Wherefore so radical a change from precedent? Was it the reflex of that little spark struck at Boston in 1773 by which the torch of republicanism was set burning, and which the British Government feared might extend to so close a neighbor as Canada, were they to meet the wishes of the English population by establishing a House of Assembly at Quebec, the political and fiscal policy of which might not be any more in accord with British ideas, than those of the neighboring colonies which were now occasioning so much trouble and in

open revolt? Between the two stools Britain fell; the Quebec Bill was as obnoxious to the provincials as the stamp act, and was as injurious to the British interests in Canada as the latter was to its sovereignty in the American colonies. Whatever was the cause the result has not been beneficial to Canada or England, for instead of the homogeneous unity expected by the conquest, from which unity there would be strength, a very disunited and complex dominion has ensued from the mistaken policy of the Quebec Bill.

APPENDIX.

Extracts from Speeches made in the House of Commons during the Passage of the Bill.

Solicitor General Wedderburn:—I do not think in the abstract or theory, the highest degree of liberty ought to be granted to a country, situated as Canada is—*not the highest degree of political liberty.*

The next clause was read, enabling His Majesty's Canadian subjects to hold and enjoy their property and possessions, together with all customs and usages relative thereto, and all other civil rights, etc.; and that, in matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, resort should be had to the laws of Canada for the decision.

Mr. Edmund Burke.—The question under this clause is whether we shall take away all the law of England, at six months or twelve months hence. I declare myself incapable of arguing the question. I have neither strength of body nor energy of mind to proceed at this late hour.

He spoke warmly against going on with the debate, and left the House. Lord John Cavendish spoke to the same

effect, and also went out. Mr. Cavendish spoke to the same purpose, but would not go out.

Mr. Thomas Townshend.—The gentlemen opposite, who are now sitting in sullen silence, as soon as they have obtained a kind of licence to proceed, by the absence of those honourable members who oppose them, will go further than people who talk upon the subject. I should be glad to know how far we are to go. I believe we have no instance upon the journals of the House of business being treated in this manner. And why? Because the administration have been idle—have neglected their duty, and been guilty of criminal negligence. Looking at the volume of reports upon the table, I ask—where is Lord Palmerston? Where are the members of the Board of Trade? Why have they gone from their opinions? Gentlemen who have signed their names to a report should tell us why they now have differed from that report. Is this all to be passed over in sullen silence, and no answer to be given to any objection?

Colonel Barre.—I do not rise to express any warmth. A bill of greater magnitude never came before the House in such a shape as this bill. It passed the House of Lords without a single evidence in its favour. When it was sent down here we obtained some evidence, but other documents were refused. The noble lord himself, with every appearance of candour, in the first stages, called for assistance in discussing. Sir, we have discussed till we are tired. Will anybody deny that the noble lord has not had help, even from those who, only as members of this House, were required to give it him? The request made by my honorable friend is a very proper one. If other gentlemen cannot draw an answer, I cannot draw one. I can only say, it would have been more in character to declare that you shall pass this bill as the Lords have sent it, and not have any discussion upon it: that would have been the more manly conduct.

Mr. Charles Fox.—It is indeed indecent conduct; as it appeared to me, the other night, when ministers refused to call for General Murray. What was then said? "No precipitation is used in the passing of this bill; as much time is given to it as to any other." Whoever made this assertion has frankly broke his word, and will be as much respected as a man ought to be, who makes a promise and does not keep it. What single attempt has been made on our part to delay this bill? Has the same debate been gone over twice? They have not hinted that there has been any delay. Upon what ground does the bill now stand? Two or three clauses have been gone through. Are the rest not as material? Yes; but they should not be taken up at twelve o'clock at night. The boundary was settled in the House of Commons, without having anything fixed by those whose duty it was to have that boundary fixed. Was no boundary necessary, in their opinion, that they came unprepared?

Lord North.—As to the boundary, I, for one, was very well satisfied with it, as it stood in the bill. Several gentlemen, speaking for particular provinces, entreated that other boundaries might be taken; and there was that attention paid to their doubts, that, provided they would settle a good boundary, the friends of the bill were willing to give way; in my opinion, the first boundary ought to have satisfied everybody. As for the cause before us, I am very much mistaken if it has not been fairly debated already; but I do not in the least object to have it debated again. I would submit it to any honourable gentleman, whether, after we have sat so long upon it,—after the clause has been so fairly debated—is it so very violent, so very precipitate, to proceed with it before the committee rises to-night. I am for proceeding at least through this clause before the committee breaks us.

The committee having gone on with the clauses, to the end of the criminal law clause, Lord North said, if any

gentleman wished to adjourn, he had no objection. The Chairman was going on, but Mr. Charles Fox got up and desired the committee might adjourn, which it accordingly did. Lord North said to him, are we not very candid? I said, I generally was for adjourning at twelve o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, June 8.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the bill,

Mr. Edmund Burke said:—I should, Sir, have proposed some amendments to the bill last night, if my ideas had not been thought ridiculous, by the conduct of the committee, in proceeding with a most material part of the bill at twelve o'clock, when the natural constitutions of gentlemen were perfectly exhausted. When this bill was brought down to us, the general voice of almost every one who supported it was, that it was a very imperfect measure as it stood, and that, agreeably to the universal practice, it would be open to any amendment. Unfortunately, I was utterly unacquainted with the bill. I took it up with a determination to come here, not only with my mind unprejudiced, but with a determination to avoid everything that had any shadow of passion in it; and I appeal to the candour, the direct justice, of parliament, whether the clause fixing a boundary to such an extent of territory, or the clauses settling the laws and religion of such a province, could be well debated, upon the numberless momentous questions that arose, in less time that we have given to them. The privilege allowed in committees of the House of speaking more than once, is a privilege founded upon reason. An argument upon the principle of a measure may be dispatched in the House at one speaking, as well as a thousand; but in the committee, where matters of detail are gone into, it is necessary to speak more than once. The noble lord, therefore, has no right to say that we have interposed any delay. The first part of the bill took us up

two days—in my opinion, a very short time to spend upon such a subject. Fixing the geography was the work of one day; fixing the religion of another. These and other delays, if they can be called delays, were absolutely necessary. The committee ought to take care that no delays but necessary ones should be allowed in this business—but the necessary delay arising from a detail. Now, Sir, if an entertainment should be given ten miles from London, and we were to adjourn over this day and thereby make the business of the nation give way to such entertainment, what would be the opinion of the people? I do not censure the House for entering into the innocent gaities of this life, provided they give time enough for the discharge of more important duties. If any youth, in the gallantry of his spirit, calls gentlemen to such an entertainment, I would not say, do not enjoy it; but go and enjoy it if you have taken care, at the same time, to provide for the prosperity of your country. But while I say this, I ask that the same indulgence which is given to those who engage in scenes of joy and dissipation should be given to those who have need of rest to support their bodies to enable them to come here to discharge their duty, I for one complain that I am precluded from doing my duty. I complain on the part of the people of England, who have sent here five hundred and fifty-eight men to represent their interests that they and I are cruelly, wickedly and unjustly treated. I complain of it and demand justice; that is, I demand a reparation of the wrong which has been done us. I have spoken strong words. Last night I spoke feebly; but now my voice is raised my accusation is steady and resolute. I had several material amendments to propose to the clauses. I had an equitable clause with regard to revocation, etc. (He mentioned other alterations). I wished to have provided a remedy for the objection that causes were tried by persons not fit to be treated. My opinion is that the people of Canada, with regard to the civil law, have not expressed

their dislike of the trial by jury. These are some of the matters that I would have stated; but it would have been impossible to have debated them at that hour of the night. Having said this in defence of a conduct which may have been a little unjustifiable, I will add that this headlong mode of proceeding will not tend to make this law go down with the people of England. They will certainly dislike it. America will dislike it. As I was not permitted to make these amendments before, I conclude I shall not be heard to-day.

Mr. Cavendish was sorry the honourable gentleman did not make the amendments he intended.

Lord North—These amendments may still be made by being thrown into the form of a clause. The honourable gentleman is not precluded from making, even in the committee, any alteration he proposes; but as to the propositions themselves which he threw out, as far as I understand them, I shall certainly be against admitting them. We are not, at the present time, competent to enter into a detail of the necessity of those provisions for the constitution of Canada. All that the parliament of Great Britain can do is to lay down general rules; to say, you shall proceed according to Canadian customs, or according to the English law. Every alteration which the circumstances of the country can admit of—every variation which the interest of the old subjects may require—all these circumstances will be more properly considered upon the other side of the water where they may be regulated by special ordinances. It would not be in vain, and more likely to occasion confusion, for the parliament of Great Britain to attempt to enter into the particular laws by detail; to say, this law you shall have, or you shall not have. The best way is to give them the Canadian customs and to let them be altered. What is of infinite advantage, they will thus have the law that they understand. The laws and customs of Canada are the basis of the law that they understand. If any ordinances are

made varying that law they will be promulgated, and they will understand them. For these reasons, I shall certainly oppose any proposition for entering into a detail connected with the English criminal or the Canadian civil law; because I think that detail, these alterations, and those amendments which are necessary can only be entered into and settled with propriety by lawyers upon the spot. As to the proceedings of last night, I shall remain satisfied in the consciousness of the rectitude of my conduct; it is a very sufficient regard, and it is the only regard I shall be likely to have. Upon the whole, I will venture to say, that there never was a bill that has been more amply examined and debated than this has been. There are few bills that have remained so long in the House as this has done; there have been few propositions where there has not been a readiness in the friends of the bill, to accept any suggestions, from whatever quarter they might come. The honourable gentleman says that we are to adjourn to-morrow for an entertainment, which he approves of as an entertainment; but he thinks, that as he left the House at twelve last night, it would be a disgrace to the House to adjourn over to-morrow; but I see no reason why, upon Friday, we may not give this bill every attention. I accuse no person of designed delay, but, at the same time, no person can accuse me of having shut out any material amendments. Those amendments may be proposed now; many could not be proposed last night, and if they are not proposed in the committee, there are yet two stages when they may be proposed. I was accused of a sullen silence last night; perhaps I may be excused from expatiating upon a matter not really before us, but when the House is taken up with what is not of importance to the bill, I trust that the candour of the House will excuse me if I respect the time of the House more than the justification of myself from any personal charge.

Lord John Cavendish.—Though I never can find out from

whence this bill came, and though nobody seems to avow it, there is evidently concurrence enough to carry it on.

Mr. Thomas Townshend. I must complain, sir, of the slovenly manner in which the two clauses were carried through the committee. I will venture to say, that two-thirds of that majority never heard the debate. It consisted of those gentlemen who take their meals regularly, and who are now taking their dinners. They come in when they have dined, and are extremely clamorous, crying, go on! go on! I do not thank the noble lord for the candour of last night; but I thank him for the candour of to-day, in chalking out a method of going on for the future. I likewise understand that the House is to adjourn for a day, on account of a *fete champetre*; and to be sure, the day that follows the ninth of June is a day more proper for a *fete champetre*, than for a committee of the House ef Commons to be sitting on so important a bill. But, at the same time, I cannot but confess, that the noble lord has shown an amazing degree of foresight in fixing, above all other days in the year, on the 10th of June, for finishing a bill which goes to establish Popery. For God's sake, Sir, let us come down with white roses in our hats! A day more propitious for a bill of this complexion could not have been fixed on. On the report of the bill, I shall propose a clause for rendering it temporary, and if the noble lord will suffer it to pass, he never had at his levee a more humble suppliant for a boon for himself, than I am for the Canadians. This bill will make the Canadians the detestation of the English colonies.

Mr. Dunning—The noble lord takes credit for his candour. His candour consists in giving five days to the consideration of this bill; but five days are very little indeed for the mischief which this bill provides. I collect the noble lord meant to tell us this—that it is his intention to refer every thing, in future, to that legislative council, to whom these Canadians are to be referred, but that it is far from his in-

tention to introduce trial by jury. Is that his candour? Is that the concession for which we are not precluded thanking him? Thank ye, for nothing, would be a true description of the thanks that are due for his concession; but unless it be the pleasure of the creatures created by this bill, to counteract the pleasure of their Creator, can it be expected this blessing will be produced? Will they counteract all the purposes of the bill—all the pleasures of those who made the bill? And is not, then, the question concluded, as far as the committee have to do with it? In point of form it will be competent for the House to reject the provision and the Bill itself containing the provision; but that this ought to be done, goes a very little way, in my opinion, to cause it to be done. My expectations are not better founded upon the future pleasure of the House, than on the future legislative council.

Colonel Barre.—This bill, Sir, originated with the House of Lords. It is Popish from the beginning to the end. The Lords are the Romish priests, who will give His Majesty absolution for breaking his promise given in the proclamation of 1763. In this bill they have done like all other priests—not considered separately the crimes with which the bill abounded, but have bundled them all up together, and, for despatch, given absolution for the whole at once. When, however, the measure came down to this House, its members, not being so Popishly inclined, wished to have some information. They asked for papers; all the papers they asked for were not granted. They asked for evidence; all the evidence was not granted. The first man who governed the colony you would not hear, though I stated the reasons why he ought to be called. The chief justice and the attorney-general of Canada were both examined; and their testimony goes in the teeth of this bill. Then it is decidedly opposite to the opinion of two of the most respectable men in the kingdom. When the noble lord was asked for the papers containing these opinions he refused to give

them, alleging that the reports are very long; but the attorney and solicitor-general are both in the House, and I wish to hear the abstract of their opinions given by themselves. This they could have done, but the House would not let them. The advocate-general was called to the bar upon which they said, we meant to create delay. The witness is so singular a man, that I cannot persuade myself to be out of temper with him. He was mounted very high, and pranced and pranced, and never moved from the place. I noticed a few expressions not becoming him as a witness at the bar, but altogether singular from a man who tells you he had no memory to relate anything he had written, and is at the same time known to be of so singular a memory that, without the help of notes, he can sum up the largest train of evidence, not thinking it worth while to take it down upon paper. Some time ago we were given to understand, that we were not to expect a general election. The report now runs, that parliament is immediately to be dissolved; and, in truth sir, after the passing of this bill, the sooner it is dissolved the better. In its infancy it was a very compliant one, and humoured the ministry in what I called a strong measure. I mean the Middlesex election. It continued to do so up to the middle of its existence; and, upon its dissolution, people may say, as they did after death of King Charles, that by some papers found after its decease, there is great reason to suspect that it died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion.

Mr. Edmund Burke.—There is one favour I admit to have received from the noble lord. He has assured me, that I may propose those clauses of which I have spoken, but that when they are proposed he will certainly reject them. I think the noble lord does deserve my warmest acknowledgments. That is a kind of favour which is paid immediately on the receipt. Most assuredly I will never propose them.

Mr. Jenkinson—The honourable colonel tells us that this parliament is a Roman Catholic parliament, and very near

its end. I have always understood, that when a Catholic is dying, he is generally attended by a number of troublesome people, disposed to put many troublesome questions to him. Now, I hope that Catholic practice will not be followed in our case, but that he will, at least, allow us to die in peace.

Governor Johnstone.—I should not object to the clause, if the bill was a temporary one. The English colonies have flourished more than others; they have found out the secret of carrying freedom to the distant parts of the empire. I hope gentlemen will not come to the conclusion, because certain assemblies in America have recently been tumultuous on a nice point, that therefore all assemblies are to be discountenanced. I see throughout the whole, that the interest of the governor, and the interest of the receiver-general, are the predominant features of the bill; together with surrounding our own colonies with a line of despotism. As an Irishman said to me, in that nice metaphorical language that belongs to his country, you are coming round and round, till, like water flowing in upon an island, encroaching upon it more and more, you will not leave a foot of ground for the fowl of the air to rest upon. I fear you will not leave a foot for liberty to rest upon.

Lord North.—In the first place, Sir, I cannot admit, that the evidence taken at our bar has been in opposition to the principle of the bill; on the contrary, I think it confirms the most material parts of it. With regard to the particular clause before us, what have the witnesses at the bar said? The governor certainly is evidence against an assembly; the chief justice certainly is evidence against an assembly; Mr. Maseres is for an assembly. But, in point of fact, what came out in evidence. That there were in the province at present one hundred and fifty thousand Roman Catholic subjects, and about three hundred and sixty Protestant families, whose numbers we will suppose to be a thousand or twelve hundred persons; but very few of them are possessed of any property at all. The fair inference,

therefore, is, that the assembly would be composed of Roman Catholics. Now, I ask, is it safe for this country—for we must consider this country—to put the principal power into the hands of an assembly of Roman Catholic new subjects? I agree with the honourable gentleman, that the Roman Catholics may be honest, able, worthy, sensible men, entertaining very correct notions of political liberty; but I must say there is something in that religion, which makes it not prudent in a Protestant government, to establish an assembly consisting entirely of Roman Catholics. The honourable gentleman is of opinion, that more is to be dreaded from the seigneurs than from those in the lower ranks. Sure I am, that the seigneurs, who are the great possessors of the lands, would be the persons who composed the assembly, and some of them will, I hope, be admitted to the Legislative Council; but then, the governor will choose those on whose fidelity he has the greatest reason to rely. They will be removeable by the King-in-Council, and will not depend wholly upon the Roman Catholic electors, or be removeable at their pleasure. It is not at present expedient to call an assembly. That is what the act says; though it would be convenient that the Canadian laws should be assimilated to those of this country, as far as the laws of Great Britain admit, and that British subjects should have something or other in their constitution preserved for them, which they will probably lose when they cease to be governed entirely by British laws. That it is desirable to give the Canadians a constitution in every respect like the constitution of Great Britain, I will not say; but I earnestly hope, that they will, in the course of time, enjoy as much of our laws, and as much of our constitution, as may be beneficial for that country, and safe for this. But that time is not yet come.

The clause was agreed to. After which the preamble of the bill was read.

Mr. William Burke.—I do not remember that I ever saw

the House of Commons in so sick a situation as it is at present. (Cry of "Order! order!!") I say, Sir, that the parliament of Great Britain is in an unfortunate situation. This is the worst bill that ever engaged the attention of a British council. It is a bill to establish the Popish religion —to establish despotism There have been instances in human affairs in which, for purposes of commerce, we have established freedom, as far as we could, in a certain locality, but to establish Popery, to establish despotism, in a conquered province, is what we have never done before. I am aware I cannot count forty upon you; (there were forty-five members at this time in the House) but I will say, that this business has been brought forward very late in the session; when men of great rank and property in this country must be tired. There is Mr. Soame Jenyns. He is a lord of trade, and possess a great deal of wit, and a great deal of information. I wish to hear him speak upon the subject. I also expect to hear the attorney and the solicitor-general, who have hitherto been very sparing of their law. They heard the witnesses at the bar, but did not dare to say they were wrong, and they saw the majority voting plump in the teeth of their own evidence. I say it is quite disgraceful to them, not to tell the House, whether the king is or is not bound by this bill to apply a portion of the revenue arising from tithes, to the establishment of a Protestant clergy in the province. I say, that by this bill he is not bound, but may apply those revenues to any purposes, however extravagant or profligate—either to raise an army, or to bribe, or anything in the world that he pleases. I will say this to that majority to whom I am to submit, and to that public who may hear the little which I have to say, that never since God made the world or parliaments existed, was there a time when the conduct that is now carried on was justifiable. The gentlemen who oppose the bill, knowing it was impossible to defeat it, have almost worked themselves to death, to make it as far as they could, consonant to English

liberty, and the principles of the English constitution. do not know what they meant by opposing the amendment of my honourable kinsman, for placing the debateable tithe under the control of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. I vow to God, that I believe the noble lord did not know his own situation; that he did not know there was such a thing in the country as that society. I don't believe the law officers knew a bit about it. But whether he knew there was or was not such a society (I don't know which, nor much care), I say, nothing but ignorance can justify the refusal of that motion of my honourable kinsman. There will come an hour, when it will be necessary, when it will be proper, when it will be just, to testify that there was some opposition made, some protest entered against mad proceedings.

The preamble being agreed to, the House resumed.

Mr. Sergeant Glynn.—In the concluding proposition of the noble lord, I perfectly agree, namely, that as the House is now considering the plan of laws and judicature to be given to the people of Canada, the one that is best calculated to promote the permanent happiness of the people who are to be governed by it is the preferable plan, and the one which it is the duty of the King to give them. Having thus far agreed with the noble lord, he must pardon me when I declare, from the bottom of my heart, that I think the only certain step we can take to secure for them that permanent happiness, is to bestow upon them that system of laws and judicature, which have been productive of so much happiness to ourselves at home, and obtained for us so much honour abroad. I would give it to them subject to such restrictions and regulations as the particular tenures by which their property is held might require. Give them, if you please, their particular usages and customs, but let the leading principle be that of the laws of England.

I am one of those, Sir, who are glad that the clause has been proposed; and though, to be candid, I cannot say that

the adoption of it would remove my objections to this bill, yet I am certain it has a tendency to reconcile the minds of some gentlemen to the measure, and to remove some of the most striking and formidable objections to it. The omission of this right of appeal to a jury in civil causes appears to me an insuperable objection to the bill. To any predilection of the Canadians for their ancient laws and customs, I should be inclined as much as any one to yield, as far as I could do so with safety; but to carry my compliance to the exclusion of the laws of England—to consent to substitute in their place the laws of France—and to add to all this a form of legislature correspondent to that of the kingdom whence those laws were borrowed, is what I can never consent to. And I own my objection to the measure was strengthened when I was told, that there was a prejudice and predilection in these people favourable to those laws, and that it was considered good policy to avail ourselves of this predilection, to build a system of government upon it so contrary to our own. I should have thought it was rather our duty, by all gentle means, to root those prejudices from the minds of the Canadians, to attach them by degrees to the civil government of England, and to rivet the union by the strong ties of laws, language and religion. You have followed the opposite principle; which, instead of making it a secure possession to this country, will cause it to remain forever a dangerous one. I have contemplated with some horror the nursery thus established for men reared up in irreconcileable aversion to our laws and constitution. When I was told by the noble lord, that they were insensible to the value of those laws and held them in contempt, wishing to be bound by laws of their own making—when I was told that they had no regard for civil rights, I must confess that it operated with me in a contrary way, and I could not help thinking that it furnished an unanswerable argument against gratifying them. I think that we could not, with humanity or policy, gratify them

in their love of French law, of French religion. The common safety is concerned in our refusal.

The noble lord has put it, that we are now giving laws to a great number of new inhabitants, and to a small body of our old subjects, and that it is our duty to give them such a form of government as shall best promote their happiness, but what I contend for is, that the bill upon our table, instead of providing that best form of government, puts them in the worst possible condition, as it takes from them a blessing which they now enjoy, and the greatest which it is in the power of any legislature to bestow. Instead of being tried by juries selected from among themselves, and by judges sworn to administer justice according to the laws of the country, you substitute a trial before an individual appointed at the will of the governor, probably uneducated in those laws, and, if educated, brought up to entertain violent notions of law and justice. Such are the men by whom you would have justice decided! And all this is done because it is right to indulge the natural predilection of the Canadians in favor of their ancient laws and usages! Let me, Sir, in like manner, plead the law in favor of the English merchants—in favor of the English inhabitants. If it be cruel, if it be oppressive, to obtrude upon the Canadians this law, which they have been eleven years in exercise of, what should be said of those who take away the law from the poor English subjects who reside there? These men have a predilection and liking for the laws of their own country, and claim their privilege of being protected, according to the usage and just principles of policy of their ancestors. They have settled there in consequence of the royal faith pledged to them, that they should not be deprived of the law which they esteem so valuable, and that none of their privileges should be infringed. Is it justice to these men to force them to live under an arbitrary form of government, and to submit to the administration of justice by the principles of another law, to the exclusion of

juries, for the gratification of others, who prefer being placed under a despotic form of government? Is not the gratification due to the natives of England rather than to the natives of Canada?

Mr. Sergeant Glynn.—There is, Sir, another consideration which I will submit to the House. Every man born in Canada since the conquest must be a free-born subject. In process of time, all will be of that description, and as such, entitled to partake of all the rights and privileges of that system of government which we are about to transmit to them. Is it then wise, I ask, out of compassion to the prejudices of those who have been born under the arbitrary law of another country, to perpetuate a system of government, which will deprive all those who may hereafter be born, from the enjoyment of the privileges of other British subjects? I will give the House no further trouble. I see that the attempt to resist the passing of this mischievous bill will be in vain; but I earnestly hope, that it will be rendered less mischievous, by the admission of the clause proposed by the honourable gentleman near me.

Edmund Burke.—Now, instead of making them free subjects of England, you sentence them to French government for ages. I meant only to offer a few words upon the part of the Canadians, and leave them to their misery. They are condemned slaves by the British parliament. You only give them new masters. There is an end of Canada.

Sir, having given up a hundred and fifty thousand of these people, having deprived them of the principles of our constitution, let us turn our attention to three hundred and sixty English families. It is a small number; but I have heard, that the English are not to be judged of by number but by weight; and that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen. Let us not value that prejudice. I do not know that one Englishman can beat two Frenchmen; but I know that, in this case, he ought to be more valuable than twenty Frenchmen, if you estimate him as a freeman and

the Frenchmen as slaves. What can compensate an Englishman for the loss of his laws? Do you propose to take away liberty from the Englishman, because you will not give it to the French? I would give it to the Englishman, though ten thousand Frenchmen should take it against their will. Two-thirds of the whole trading interest of Canada are going to be deprived of their liberties, and handed over to French law and French judicature. Is that just to Englishmen? Surely, the English merchants want the protection of our law more than the noblesse! They have property always at sea; which,if it is not protected by law, every one may catch who can. No English merchant thinks himself armed to protect his property, if he is not armed with English law. I claim protection for the three hundred and sixty English families whom I do know, against the prejudices of the noblesse of Canada, whom I do not know. I must put the House in mind of what an honourable gentleman said in the course of this debate—that it was seldom that any improvement was introduced into any country, which did not, at first, militate against the prejudices of the people. Was all England pleased with the revolution? No. The wishes of the majority were sacrificed to the reason of the better part, and the interest of the whole; and we are now enjoying the benefits of that choice—benefits brought upon the ignorant people, not by force, but with an easy hand. The Canadians are struggling with their old prejudices in favour of their former laws. A new establishment is proposed to them, which throws them into some disorder, some confusion. "All the interim is like a phantasma and a hideous dream." The honourable gentlemen opposite, taking advantage of this confusion, say: We have got a basis; let us see how much French law we can introduce! With a French basis, there is not one good thing that you can introduce. With an English basis, there is not one bad thing that you can introduce. Take the rule of the law of Canada for the rule of the constitution of your

courts, and it will be the rule of all your proceedings; take it for the rule of your judicature, and sooner or later, it will be the rule of your legislature. How often have we had occasion in this House to quote the practice of the courts below! how many lights have we derived from the learned gentlemen pleading there! how many lights have we derived, from you, Sir! how many from the judicature of the upper House! Where there is a basis of French judicature, of French law, the legislature will never think of grafting upon it an English constitution.

With regard to state policy, which is the last point I shall touch upon—the preservation of their old prejudices, their old laws, their old customs, by the bill, turns the balance in favour of France. The only difference is, they will have George the Third for Lewis the Sixteenth. In order to make Canada a secure possession of the British Government, you have only to bind the people to you, by giving them your laws. Give them English liberty—give them an English constitution—and then whether they speak French or English, whether they go to mass or attend our own communion, you will render them valuable and useful subjects of Great Britain. If you refuse to do this, the consequence will be most injurious, Canada will become a dangerous instrument in the hands of those who wish to destroy English liberty in every part of our possession.

The question being then put that the said clause be read a second time, the House divided:

TELLERS.

Yeas.	Mr. Mackworth.....	40
	Mr. Thomas Townsend, Jr.....	
Nays	Mr. Bradshaw.....	83
	Mr. Robinson	

So it passed in the negative.

Mr. Howard—I have considered it well, and I cannot separate my idea of it from that of a money bill; in which character, it is a violation of your privileges, which is confirmed by long usages and customs. It is, moreover, a bill which goes to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power into the colonies, to give a further establishment to popery, to annul the bill of toleration, and to destroy the act of habeas corpus. For these reasons, I have opposed it, and I venture to oppose it again. In short, I look upon it as a most abominable and detestable measure, which ought to be rejected. With respect to the other reason given by the honourable gentleman, that it is a money bill, I think no treatment too contemptuous can be applied to it. On that, and that account alone, you, Sir, should throw it over the table, and somebody else should kick it out at the door.

The question being put, that the bill, with the amendments, do pass, the House divided:

TELLERS.

Yeas.	Mr. Bradshaw Mr. Cooper	56
Nays.	Mr. Howard Mr. Dempster	20

So it was resolved in the affirmative. The bill was then passed. It received the royal assent on the 22nd, when the Parliament was prorogued, and shortly after dissolved

[*Extract from Petition of French Residents.*]

Nous esperons d'autant mieux cette grace que nous possédons plus de dix douziémes des seigneuries et presque toutes les terres en rotures.

Fr. Simonnet,
Longueuil,
De Rouville, fils,
St. Disier,
La Perier,
Chevalier de St. Ours,
St. Ours, fils,
Carilly,
Lemoine,
Guy,
Contre-coeur,
Des Riviéres,
Montigny, fils,
L. Porlier,
J. G. Hubert,
Fr. Cariau,
Landriaux,
J. G. Pillet,
Fr. La Combe,
Jobert,
M. Blondeau,
Eauge,
J. Daillebout de Cuisy

Hertel Beaubassin,
La Corne, fils,
St. Ours,
Landriéve,
De Rouville,
l'eschaillon,
J. La Croix,
Giasson,
Vallés,
P. Pillett,
Laurent Du Charme,
Berthelot,
Mézière,
St. Ange,
La Corne,
Quinson de St. Ours,
Pouvret,
St. George du Pré,
Louvigny deMontigny
Sanguinet,
Jean Crittal,
Pierre Panet, fils,
Pillet.

J. Sanguinet,
John Vienne,
Le Palliau,
Gordien de Cuisy, fils,
Picoté de Belestre,

Pierre Foretier,
L. Defoui,
La Combe,
Ch. Sanguinet,
S. Chaboille,
J. G. Bourassa,
P. Panet,
J. B. Blondeau,
Le Grand,
L. Baby,
Hamelin, fils,
Foucher,
Lamber St. Omer,
De Bonne,
Gamelin.

[*Copy of a Letter of the Period.*]

MONTREAL, Dec'r 1765.

DEAR ALSOPP,

The Joyfull news of a recall of the G——— being come here confirm'd through so many channells, there now cannot be the least doubt.———our worthy Agients advice ought to be wrought on our minds viz: not to exult too much, this I understand, to be while in suspence I mean the stroke of the recall, but after that is sure we certainly sho'd not conseal by our faces the real sentiments of our

hearts rejoiced and thankful that our Soverign has at last heard the complaints of an oppressed people.—

I observe from your accounts as well as from others, our agient wishes for and wants matter, why sh'd it be wanting—let us now joyne hearts and hands to furnish him with what we abound in here, begin with what you think, proper, we will Joyne you to a man I mean when it comes properly prepar'd & propos'd from you, you can always depend on any little influence I have, let it then begin with, or come first to your other friends with whom you have a great deal to say and who tho' we differ in some triffling affairs yet abhore equally Tyrany and Opression.

I say let it begin with them and I will Joyne, we now ought to redouble our strokes and activity to Insure what seems to be in so good a way! Dont you think it might be urg'd with great propriety the situation we are in here with our Court of C——n P——s, can a man not only a Stranger to our Constitution, but to our Language be a proper Judge, a man bred up in France tho' he assumes the name of a native of Great Brittain be a Judge to Englishmen, a man who even serv'd the French King, consequently must have taken oaths to him——think of a Subject doing this, a man who is asteem'd & thought at present, by many to be a Roman Catholick, who really was once of the order of J——s, and who has been seen and known as such and wearing their habbitts or dress at Douey in France, but we suppose discharg'd for want of capacity—— a man who in fact begun every disturbance, in this unhappy country, and in whom the G———r places his greatest confidence and adds Power to Power, to make Cyphers of our Magistrates (were they weak enough to submit) and to command the Country, but men of such education, with such principles are the proper instruments and Tools for Tyrants.

I hope Dear Alsopp you'l excuse my warmth on this point, but is occurs to me now, and I see dayly the inconveniences from Cap—— F. being a Judge —— would it

not be better to have an honest Englishman if we co'd not obtain one bred to the Law for one of our Judges, but this I submit to you.——has our friends at Quebec forgot the iligall Rum Tax ? our pocketts keep us in mind, here, have you forgott the attempt to Tax—— The arbritary appropriating to his own Private ends the Kings Posts, the Influence he has over an ill chosen Councill who I am sorry to say attempts too much to be our Legislature and forgets by their ordinances that they are subject to the Law of England. What ever faults they may have I am sure they have not heads nor hearts to amend, have we not just cause to complain against that Toole of his and Sycophant the Col——r muster up all you can, be asured his fall is certain, and we can make him fall with more rapidity.

I sh'd be glad you wo'd send me an account of our adventure. I hope we shall gain by that trade. I had a girl born last Friday week. My wife and the little one are likely to do well. I am very sorry for Death of Mrs. Gridly, my wife is daily asking after her, but does not know that she is dead.

If you can change my Butter for Dry Goods, do it as I have more here of the same. I cannot give you more Information in regard to your Port Wine, then I am sure that Mr. Finlay had the odd one.

My Ribb Joynes in complem's with

Sr. Yr. Most obed't &
Very hble servt,

JOSEPH HOWARD.

P.S.—Pray let us have none of your Insignificant nodds, as you live so near Justice Fielden, he'l certainly take notice of you.

To
MR. GEO. ALSOPP,
Merch't in
Quebec.

THE EARLY INTERPRETERS.

By Mr. John Reade, F.R.S.C.

(Concluded.)

After these desultory rambles through time and space in the old world, let us now turn our minds westward in the track of the early discoverers, explorers and colonizers of the new. The earliest intercourse that Columbus had with the American aborigines was conducted by means of signs, and the consequence was that not infrequently he misconstrued the directions or explanations given to him. When he asked the natives of San Salvador where they got their gold, he was led to understand that a king, somewhere in the south, had it in such abundance that he drank out of golden vessels. He imagined that they referred to Japan. On finally leaving the island he took seven natives with him, that they might acquire the Spanish language and serve as interpreters. Thus was laid the foundation of a usage which was followed by all subsequent voyagers, and which tended more than anything else to create and preserve a bond of sympathy between the races of the two hemispheres.

Occasionally the process was reversed, and as captives or volunteers, Europeans lived long enough among the aborigines to understand their language. Drake seems to have got on remarkably well with the natives of his New Albion without any other language than that of signs. Notwithstanding its clear promise of the precious metals—as he has himself recorded—no use was made of the discovery for 300 years after, when his visit was vaguely cited in favor of England's right to the mouth of the Columbia. As a sample of the sort of conversation that took place between the new-comers and the natives it may be mentioned that when Raleigh asked an aboriginal Virginian (pardon the anachronism) the name of his country, he replied, "Win-gau-da-coa," which, as it turned out, was a

wholly independent observation, and meant, "You wear fine clothes." The presence of natives with auburn hair revealed to Raleigh the fact that his were not the first European vessels that had visited the coast, but the half-breeds had never learned or had forgotten the paternal tongue. Provision was made for intercommunication in the future by the abstraction of two natives, Manteo and Manchese. Thomas Savage, who later on rendered important service to the colonists as interpreter, was for several years of his boyhood a prisoner with Powhattan. A captive who had passed through a more trying ordeal was Aguilar, who was the first regular interpreter of Cortes. He had been one of the Darien colony, but had been wrecked, near the coast of Yucatan, on a voyage to Hispaniola. He escaped drowning and the still worse fate of being eaten by his fellow-men, fell into the hands of a powerful chief, with whom he found favor, and gradually rose to a post of influence among the Indians. He had, in fact, become an Indian himself in dress, manner and speech, and it was some time before he could be reconciled to the restraints of civilization.

The most interesting figure among the early American interpreters is Marina, a native of South-eastern Mexico, and the daughter of a powerful native prince. Being sold to the Cacique of Tabasco, that potentate surrendered her to the Spaniards. She is said to have possessed personal attractions beyond the common and to have been a woman of unusual intelligence. Cortes made her first his interpreter, then his secretary, and lastly fell in love with her. The Spanish poets have celebrated her charms and accomplishments.

In the conquest of Peru, by Pizarro and his comrades, intercourse was maintained with the natives by two captive youths, who had been taught Castilian and carefully trained in their duties as interpreters. Coming northwards, we find the experience of the Spaniards repeated in New England and New France. In the former the first person who gave

serious attention to the native languages was John Eliot, who, in his missionary zeal, could allow himself no rest till he had translated the whole of King James' Bible into the language of the Massachusetts tribes, which he had learned from an Indian servant. His Indian version of the Scriptures was the first Bible printed in America. It is now very rare. A copy was sold a few years ago for $1,130. The tongue in which it was written has become virtually a dead language, except that it is allied with the other branches of the great Algonquin family. One word from it—taken from Eliot's version of Genesis—has, however, been resuscitated for political purposes—the word *mugwump* —meaning "big chief," "leader," "commander." It is used by Eliot both in the singular and the plural where the version of King James uses the word "duke" or "dukes"—the sons of Eliphaz, the son of Esau, being described as Mugwumps Teman, Omar, Zepho and Kenaz. Mugwump, it will be remembered, was first applied (by the N.Y. *Sun*) to those Republicans who sided with Cleveland against Blaine, the party nominee, on the ground that the former would promote civil service reform.

If no Canadian missionary turned the Vulgate into Algonquin or Iroquois, it certainly was not from any lack of zeal for the salvation of souls. As the late regretted M. Maximilian Bibaud says in his "Sagamos Illustres," so eager were they to save the savage tribes from their idolatry and degradation that one might fancy a return to the days when Boniface and Siegfried brought the boon of the Gospel to the heathen races of Europe. The same patriotic writer finds in Jacques Cartier the true creator of intercourse between North America and Europe. The names of the Indians who, however partially and imperfectly, acted as interpreters to the captain of St. Malo were Taiguragny and Domagaya. Cartier has left vocabularies of the Stadacona and Hochelaga tribes, which Abbé Cuoq, after careful collation with the later Iroquois, has concluded to belong to a dialect of that language.

M. B. Sulte, in a paper read before the Royal Society, in May, 1882, collected a mass of useful information regarding the interpreters of the time of Champlain. The most remarkable of them were Jacques Hertel (Sieur de la Frenière), François Marguerie, Jean, Jean-Paul and Thomas Godefroy, Olivier Le Tartif, Jean Nicolet and Nicolas Marsolet. Every one of these men had a career of adventure, full of the spirit of romance. Some of them were men of family; nearly all were scholars. Marguerie, when in captivity, traced on skin, with colored grease, a narrative of his misfortunes and need of help, in Latin, French, English, Dutch and Indian. His sister married Jacques Hertel, who has left a multitude of descendants. Besides the aforementioned, there were, in Champlain's time, several others who acted as interpreters, such as Etienne Brulé, who with Thomas (possibly Godefroy) accompanied Champlain to the Huron County in 1615, and who ultimately fell a victim to the cruel vindictiveness of savage foes and was burned at the stake. He is believed to have been the French boy left by Champlain with his Algonquin and Huron allies in 1610, when he took one of their number, Savignon, with him to France. Nicolas de Vignau and Gros Jean, of Dieppe—of whom the former deceived Champlain as to the North-west passage, and the latter attached himself to the English and served under Kirke—may be added to the number.*

Down to 1628 there were altogether more than a dozen interpreters in the vicinity of the Lakes. The missionaries were, of course, practically interpreters—the first essential to success in their labors being a knowledge of the language of the aborigines.

To trace the zig-zag wanderings of the interpreters who succeeded would be to narrate the history of the continent—its trade, its wars, its diplomacy, its missions. Wherever the Europeans went in pursuit of land, or gold, or power,

* A young Greek, who was in Quebec with the founder of that city just before its capture by Kirk, merits a place in the list. *Voyages de Champlain*, p. 1154.

the interpreter was sure to make his appearance. Sometimes they were Europeans, sometimes Indians, sometimes half-breeds. They were of all grades of society, from the lowest to the highest—bushrangers, men of science, artists, warriors, preachers of the Gospel. Some served occasionally, as circumstances demanded; other were regularly employed and paid by the authorities; others freely devoted their hardly gained knowledge of the Indian tongues to the cause of evangelization, of science or of trade.

THE OLD WATER COURSES.

In the January, 1890, number of *Canadiana* reference is made to the lake on the Lachine flats and the canal system supposed to have existed between Lachine and Montreal. The researches of Mr. Robert C. Douglas, as stated in the March, 1890, number of this publication, showed that this proposed canal system had not been fully completed. These local questions have an interest for archæologists, and as each one contributes his mite, the pieces are collected until, like a ripped manuscript gathered out of the waste paper basket, the facts which the original contained are brought out, although one portion might have led to a doubtful conclusion. If we speculate it is with the hope that we may at last arrive at the truth.

Looking at Champlain's map of the Island of Montreal, which is to be found in his narrative, it will be noticed that a large portion of the flats below the Lachine Rapids, near Cote St. Paul, were covered with water. Admitting that this visit was a hurried one, covering but a day, and that the incident of the loss of a canoe and one of his men may have disturbed the explorer, still anything stated by Champlain deserves careful attention as being *prima facie* correct. Were the date of his visit when the river was dammed by the ice, it might have been supposed that these flats were

thus covered with water; the date was 11th June, 1611, therefore this supposition must be set aside.

Was a considerable portion of this flat covered with water at the time? In support of the probability it may be said (1) that Champlain was a reliable witness and an intelligent one; (2) that the maps of N. Bellin, 1744, show a lake in this neighborhood stretching from near Lachine village to Cote St. Paul; (3) that this lake was known even to old men now living; (4) that the low lie of the land and its present swampy state are evidences of its being near the present water level.

If Champlain's map was correct, then the present St. Paul flat has been reclaimed from the water since.

The changes in the St. Pierre River, which was somewhat modified by the drainage system, and in part adopted for the drainage of Lachine, shows the continued tendency to make dry land of what was water in Champlain's time.

It is well known that to traverse this swamp the original Montreal & Lachine Railway was piled, and the piles are still there.

Upon the subject of our watercourses, it may interest some persons to look at the old maps of the city of Montreal, and there note the rivulet where Craig street now is. Some fifty years since this creek divided the roadway for its whole length from St. Antoine street to St. Denis street. Bridges were necessary to cross this creek at St. Antoine, Bleury, St. Lawrence and other streets. Afterwards, this creek was tunnelled and a broad roadway formed as now exists. This rivulet or creek was the outlet for the several brooks of the west and east ends of the city. On the west the brooks, being the overflow of certain springs now covered up, may be noted. 1st. One on the Desrivières (now Redpath) property. 2nd. One on Judge Smith's property south of Sherbrooke street, near the corner of Peel street. 3rd. One at the gate on University street of the McGill College ground (the McGill-Burnside property)—

all of which brooks had cut gullys (traces of which may still be seen at the corner of Sherbrooke and University streets) and found their way in an united brook on a line between the present Aylmer street and Union avenue. A second brook from the uplands came down parallel with St. Lawrence street, a little to the east of this street, into Craig street, and two streams came across the Ordnance lands, now the Park or the Logan estate, into Craig street rivulet, whilst the whole thus found its way into the main rivulet on the present Craig street. It dragged its slow length along, joined by rivulets from the Beaver Meadows, and emptied at Handyside's distillery, as Ruisseau Migeon, into the St. Lawrence.

Another creek or rivulet on the Island of Montreal on the city side to be noted is the St. Pierre, finding its way by two branches to the St. Lawrence, one emptying opposite Nuns' Island, and the other crossing St. Joseph street (now Notre Dame street west) near Dow's brewery, thence through the old Montreal College grounds, thence across McGill street, where there was a bridge, thence along Commissioners street, to empty into the St. Lawrence at Pointe à Callières.

When the city of Montreal was incorporated in 1840, or shortly thereafter, the Craig street creek was tunnelled, and the water west of St. Lawrence street was turned westward (contrary to its natural course), and a cut made to connect it with the St. Pierre.

A reference to the old maps and to the present officials may verify or correct these rough notes thus thrown together to meet the request of some enquiries made of an old inhabitant of Montreal.

When the authoress of "The Backwoods of Canada" arrived in Montreal in August, 1832, she wrote:—

"We were struck by the dirty, narrow, ill-paved or unpaved streets of the suburbs, and overpowered by the

noisome vapor arising from a deep fosse that ran along the street behind the wharf.

"This ditch seemed the receptacle of every abomination, and sufficient in itself to infect a whole town with malignant fever." D. D.

I am indebted to the officials in the City Surveyor's Department for the following information :—

The only portion of the old "creek" remaining uncovered in 1845 was in the neighborhood of Chaboillez Square, from Dow's brewery to St. Antoine street, the remaining portion in Foundling and Craig streets being covered.

The original creek had an outfall opposite the present Custom House, from where it passed westward along Foundling and College streets to Chaboillez Square, where it was joined by the St. Pierre rivulet, that passed under the Lachine Canal; from the junction of Chaboillez and College streets it passed northward across Chaboillez Square, where it was joined by the rivulet from the west, that is now drained by Bonaventure main sewer. From the junction of Notre Dame street (then St. Joseph) and Chaboillez Square it passed eastward along Craig street, passed St. Lawrence, St. Denis and Papineau road at Dorchester street, where it branched northwards into several small tributaries.

ED.

REMINISCENCES OF COL. CLAUS.

BY MR. ERNEST CRUIKSHANK.

VI.

In anticipation of the return of the Indians from the Lake of Two Mountains to their homes, it would appear that an attempt had been made to draw a reinforcement from those with Proctor's army. On the 12th August a meeting of the Indians was held at the cross roads to receive the report of the embassy sent to Detroit for this purpose. There were present representing the Indian department, besides Col.

Claus, Major Givins, Capt. De Lorimier, Lieuts. De Lorimier, Brant and Lyons.

"*Tekanhoga* spoke on seven strings black and six strings black and white, wampum from the Shawnees.

"Brothers—On the road to the Grand River I heard of the death of Lieut.-Col. Bisshop and of the conduct of our brothers at Buffalo. They have forgot their promise and raised the tomahawk against the King to spill the blood of his children. Their words to us were:—'If the Americans take from us our property and stop our money, yet we are determined not to raise the tomahawk against the King.' They have done it, and I have informed the Western Indians what has been done, and shall report their answer.

"Elder Brothers—We look towards you, and see that you feel yourselves in distress. Our people are going to the Miami, and as soon as that business is over, which we expect will be very soon, expect to see us with you, and we will cross the river and face those people on their own side. You are to tell our brother at the head of affairs not to think it hard if cattle are killed on the way down.'

"This is the answer I received. When my messenger came away, an Indian with one arm had just arrived from Miami. He left it nine days ago. He says Kiga-haga was taken, with 1,000 barrels; 4,000 Indians were going to storm Fort Meigs, but they were ordered not to attempt it, but to go to cut off 300 men in charge of goods, etc., and that 2,000 went."

Writing to Col. Harvey the same day, Claus said:—"Teharihoga, a Mohawk chief, who arrived to-day from the Grand River, desired to meet me in council, and repeated the answer he received from the Shawanese to a message he sent them informing them of the conduct of the Indians at Buffalo Creek. I enclose a copy of their answer. The Caughnawagas have asked for a feast to-day. They say they have not had one since they came up."

The enemy began to show signs of activity, and even

ventured to attack the British outposts. On the 13th August Claus wrote to Harvey:—"Our piquets retired this morning. The one in front of Ball's was fired upon by twenty rifles at upwards of 100 yards. They must have been in the bush all night. Some shots were exchanged, but the distance was too great to do any hurt. The one by Secord's did not perceive anything."

The following extract from a letter dated at Fort George on the 15th August, which appeared in the *Buffalo Gazette* a few days later, probably explains the cause of this unusual demonstration. The writer says:—"Our picket guards during the week have been almost constantly in alarm. On the night of the 13th an attack was made by a pretty formidable force, but flying artillery was sent out, and they dispersed. The attacks have been principally made by Indians The British are supposed to number 2,000 regulars, 500 or 600 militia and 300 or 400 Indians. There is no doubt they are short of provisions."

The first dispersal of the Indians to their homes could not be much longer delayed. On the 15th Claus addressed the following to Harvey announcing this fact:—

Cross Roads, Aug. 15th, 1813.

Dear Sir,—I am sorry to inform you that seven of the Chippawas have left, and the Western Indians, after some persuasion, have agreed to stay till the end of this quarter of the moon. A few nights ago they spoke of going, but it appears they only did it for an excuse for asking for some liquor. This morning they appear determined to go at the time they mentioned. A requisition is making out for some clothing, on application of Blackbird. I assure you I dread the orders of the 7th inst."

The letter-book ends abruptly with the following interesting fragment of a letter, probably from Col. Matthew Elliott, although the signature is wanting, which throws some new light on Proctor's last offensive movement:—

Detroit, Aug. 8th, 1813.

My Dear Claus.—I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours

of the 18th, enclosing extracts of General Order. We are preparing a new set of abstracts for the February two-monthly period, to replace those taken by the enemy.

I now proceed to give you a short detail of our unfortunate expedition to Fort Meigs and Sandusky. We set off from Amherstburg with 300 troops and between 3,000 and 4,000 Indians, in high expectation of doing something great. On our landing at the rapids, our General's first camp was about two miles from the fort, but two days after he moved to within about a mile and a half, where he remained seven days. During these nine days the Indians wanted him to throw some shells into the fort and make use of his great guns and attempt to sap the fort, telling him at the same time that although they were starving they would second him in everything he would undertake. He, however, proposed going up to Sandusky, which the Indians opposed with all their might, saying that if he went there, they would return to their families and stand between them and danger, should the Americans sally out of the fort. He still continuing determined on his purpose, the Indians set off homewards, all but 200 of our Indians and some of Mr. Dickson's.

He then fell into a rage with me, and said that I had been guilty of treachery, for which he would report me to the Commander of the Forces, and I should be personally responsible for the failure of the expedition.

We set off accordingly to Sandusky, and in . . . . .

INDIAN ALLEGIANCE IN 1839.

[A curious parchment, of which the following is a copy, was recently shewn to me by a well-known antiquarian in this city.—Ed.]

Nous, Chefs des différents Tributs Sauvages du District de Montréal, dans la Province du Bas Canada, Promettons et Jurons que nous serons fidel et que nous garderons vraiment comme bon sujêts, notre allegiance à Sa Majesté Bri-

tannique La Reine Victoria Première; et que nous les défendrons du mieux qu'il nous sera possible, contre toutes conspirations et toutes tentatives quelleconques qui pourront etre faits contre Sa Personne, Sa Couronne, ou Sa Dignité; et nous ferrons touts nos efforts, ainsi de communiquer et faire à scavoir à Sa Majesté, Ses Hoirs et Ses Successeurs toutes trahissons et tout correspondences traitresses qui pourroient avoir lieu, soit contre elle, soit contre eux, ou Sa Gouvernement dans cette Province du Bas Canada. Et nous professons et certifions et déclarons solemnellement en Presence de Dieu, que nous faisons cette Déclaration tout entière, dans le sens commun et ordinaire des expressions de se serment, sans aucune evasion equivoque, ni reservation mentale quelleconque; ainsi que Dieu nous soit eu aide:

Grand Chefs.

Martin X Tekanasontie,
Thomas X Teâtekon,
Thomas X Sakoetchta,
Charles X Katchirakiron,
Joseph X Niwateurah,
Joseph X Tenihatie,
Ignace X Kauarataheri,

Sworn before me Sault St. Louis, this 7th Oct., 1838.

DOND. DUFF, J. P.

Ignace X Ataherhei,
Ignace X Kanniwatiron,
Louis X Twiraquisain,

Sworn before me Sault St. Louis. this 7th Oct., 1838.

DOND. DUFF, J.P.

Augustin X Guille,
Louis X Degouzagne,

Grand Chefs.

Mitchel X Tekareontie,
George X Teoseragwenti,
Charles X Oriwakati
Peter X Kanniarakwa,

Sub-Chefs.

Lewis X Tarakonente,
Jacob X Taharatie,
Peter X Owenhienne,
Peter X Osetakate,
William X Tehawentate,

Sworn before me at Saint Regis this 15th January, 1839.

T. Y. CHESLEY, J. P.

Simon X Vbomsawine,
Louis X Watzeau,

Franc's X or sulle Vbomsawine.

Sworn before me this 5th day of February, 1839.

W. COTTRELL, J. P.

PUBLIC LIBRARY, TORONTO, December 6th, 1890.

The spirited and patriotic lines entitled "The United Provinces," reprinted in your last number from the "Monthly Review," 1840, may safely be attributed to J. H. Hagarty, Esq., a gentleman who contributed largely to the periodical literature of fifty years ago, and who now bears the honoured title Chief Justice of Ontario. J. B.

This number, which completes the second volume of CANADIANA, is the last, as it has been decided not to continue the publication.

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